1509/79. (1)

THE Dangers of Europe, FROM The Growing Power OF FRANCE. WITH Some Free Thoughts on REMEDIES.

And Particularly

On the Cure of our DIVISIONS at Home: In Order to a Succeſsful WAR Abroad againſt the French King and his Allies.

Certe quidem vos eſtis Romani, qui ideo fœlicia eſſe bella Veſtra, quia juſta ſint, præ vobis fertis, nec tam exitu eorum, quod vincatis, quam principiis, quod non ſine cauſa ſuſcipiatis, gloriamini. Liv. in Rhodiorum Oratione, *Lib.* 14.

Μιᾷ δ' ὃ τὸ δίκαιον μετ' ἐκείνων ὁ Θεὸς. *i. e.* Abs quo ſtat jus, ab eo Deus. *Joſeph. Antiq.* 15.

By the Author of, *The Duke of* Anjou's *Succeſſion conſidered.*

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THE PREFACE.

SInce the writing of the following ſheets, the Cauſe of our Allarm are increaſed. As the French King before the ſiting down of our laſt Parliament, made himſelf Maſter of the Spaniſh Netherlands, *which* England *has always look'd upon to be of the greateſt Conſequence for her own Preſervation, he hath now, juſt before the Meeting of our enſuing Parliament, made himſelf Maſter of the Town and Principality of* Liege, *and of all the Places of Strength in the Electorat of* Cologn, *the Capital of that Name excepted, which is likewiſe in great danger. This looks as if he deſign'd to affront our Parliaments, and to leſſen the Eſteem of this Nation in the Eyes of* Europe. *'Tis well enough known, that when our King and Parliaments had a good Underſtanding, there was nothing in the World ſo awful to that Haughty and Perfideous Monarch, as the Engliſh Nation, but our late unhappy diviſions, have augmented his Arrogance and makes him deſpiſe us. 'Twill be our own Fault if we don't remove that Occaſion, eſpecially conſidering the unſufferable Outrage he is guilty of towards us, in offering to impoſe an Heir of his own Education and Religion, upon our Crown, contrary to the Acts of Succeſſion, ſo unanimouſly agreed to by ſeveral Parliaments. This is an injury of the higheſt Nature, and the greateſt Affront he could put upon His Majeſty and the Kingdom. 'Tis a manifeſt Declaration, that he aims at nothing leſs than to deprive us of our Sovereignty, and to ſubvert our Religion and Liberty, which can never be effected without the Deſtruction of the preſent Race of* Engliſhmen, *and an Entailment of Slavery upon all Succeeding Poſterity. Thus he requites us for the Treaty of Partition, and for owning his Grandſon, the Duke af* Anjou's *Succeſſion to the Crown of* Spain. *This makes it evident beyond diſpute, that he*

owns

owns no Obligation of Gratitude to God or Man; and indeed the whole Course of his Reign hath been Treachery and Ingratitude to both.

'Tis in vain to think he can be brought to a contrary Sense or Practice by any posteriour Treaty, and therefore it is hoped this Nation will never come to another with him, but such as shall carry along with it an effectual Security; and that we can neuer have, till he be reduced to such a Condition, that we shall not need to value him, whether he keep to his Treaties or not.

A great part of the Nation have expressed their Sense, that his unaccountable Proceedings with relation to a Pretender, must be encouraged, by a Party amongst our selves. 'Tis therefore our Concern to make a thorough Enquiry, who they are, and what's their Strength. It may be our happiness, if rightly improved, that he hath discovered his treacherous Intentions so early, whilst his Majesty, blessed be God, is alive and capable of fighting our Battles; therefore we shall have none to blame but our selves, if we don't bring him to a more express and particular Article for the Security of our Succession, than the 4th. Article of the Treaty of Reswick.' *Twould seem he thinks that too much, since he has not the Patience to stay till his Majesty has run the Natural Course of his Life; but we have much better Reason to think it too little, and seeing he has made bold to break it, it's our part to deny him the Priviledge of any future Plea to have it observed, and either to bring him to a better Security of his own accord, or to take it by force.*

That we are capable of doing so, if right Measures be taken, is endeavoured to be made evident in the following Sheets, which have no other design but to serve the Publick. *They expose the Folly and Danger of our Intestine Divisions, and offer some Expedients towards a Cure; but the whole is submitted to the wisdom of the Nation in the approaching Parliament, betwixt whom and his Majesty may there be a perfect Harmony and good Understanding, to the Disappointment of our Enemies at Home and Abroad.*

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THE Dangers of *EUROPE*, from the Growing Power of *FRANCE*.

IT is evident to all Men of Obſervation, that the Face of *Europe* looks with as cloudy an aſpect at preſent, as it has done at any time for theſe laſt hundred Years; Nor is it leſs evident, that *England* has her proportion of thoſe Clouds, which threaten an Univerſal Storm.

It hath been our Lot and Glory a long time to have the Reputation of being the Arbiters of the Grand differences of *Chriſtendom*; and it hath as long been in our power to carry the Ballance which way we would. Nor can it be denied that this Nation, when ſuffered to act according to its own Natural Genius, hath ever eſpouſed the Juſter Side.

Yet it muſt be owned, that we have ſometimes had the Unhappineſs, as well as other Nations, to act contrary both to our own Intereſt, and to that of our Neighbours; but this has been more owing to thoſe that were at the Helm, than either to the Ignorance or ill Intentions of the People of *England*.

There are now the greateſt Controverſies depending betwixt the two chief Powers of *Europe*, that ever we or our Fathers heard of; and they are like to be diſputed with greater Force and Warmth, than any other Controverſie that hath yet troubled the Weſtern World, or perhaps the Univerſe. This makes it evident, that we are more concerned than ever to act with Vigor, if we have a mind either to preſerve the Honour of keeping the Ballance even betwixt the two contending Parties, or to enjoy the Advantage of ſecuring to our ſelves the Bleſſings of Peace and Proſperity.

In order to be ſatisfied, as to this Matter, we are, Firſt, to take a View of Affairs Abroad, and then to caſt an Eye upon thoſe at Home.

As to Foreign Affairs, we muſt conſider them, as they reſpect *Europe* in General; and then, as they relate to Us in particular.

As they reſpect *Europe* in General, we are to conſider.

1. That the French ſtand now poſſeſſed of the Dominions of *Spain*, which, together with their own Dominions, make up the greateſt Power, that ever was under the Government of any one Weſtern Prince or Court, ſince the Fall of the Roman Empire.

2. That by the ſeizure of the Spaniſh Succeſſion, the French King hath made a greater and more ſucceſsful Step towards the Univerſal Monarchy, than ever any other Prince did ſince the Days of *Julius Cæſar*.

3. That *Louis* XIV. is Maſter of a far greater Force, by Sea and Land, has more diſciplined and warlike Troops, a greater Number of experienced Generals to command them, and a greater Treaſure to maintain them, than any Prince ever yet had, that attempted to bring the World under the Juriſdiction of one Scepter.

4. That whether it be by Infatuation, or the ill Genius of *Europe*, or, to ſpeak more like Chriſtians, by the over-ruling Hand of Divine Providence, to puniſh ſlaviſh and

wicked

wicked Nations, it is undeniable that he has a greater Number of Subjects, ready to follow him blindfold, and to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to his Ambition, than any other Prince ever yet had.

5. That he hath had and still has a greater Faculty and Success, by Bribery and otherwise, to bring other Princes and People to fall in with his Measures, though apparently destructive to their own Interest, than all those together that formerly aspir'd to the Universal Monarchy.

Of this, there can be no doubt left in our Minds, if we consider how successful he has been in bribing and bewitching several of our own Princes and Ministers of State, the former by Means of their Paramours, by furnishing them Money to prevent the Necessity of calling Parliaments, and by promises to support them in their Arbitrary Designs; and the latter, by advancing them Summs, by espousing their Interests, and by enabling 'em to appear at the Head of those Factions, which the Wickedness of our Courts, and Weakness of our Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, have raised and admitted amongst us. The Design of the former was to divide us, that they might govern us with a more absolute Sway; and the Design of the latter was, that by their Interest, in this or that prevailing Faction, they might make themselves the more necessary to their Prince, and by Consequence more deserving of his Favour and Bounty; without considering, or at least regarding that they purchase this Temporary Favour for the most part, at the rate of their Countries Liberty, and by Consequence, with the ruin of their own Posterity.

It were easie to shew that the French have practis'd the same Methods amongst Foreign Nations, but it's sufficient only to mention the way how they have acquir'd the Crown of *Spain*, the Success they have had in buying off the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, and other Princes of the Empire; the Influence they have had in procuring a Party in *Holland* to oppose a War, and to own the Duke of *Anjou* as King of *Spain*, and their dexterity in kindling a Flame in the North, and keeping it hitherto from being extinguish'd.

6. In the 6th place we are to consider the French King in his Alliances, and the other Advantages he hath acquir'd by his seizure of the Crown of *Spain*, which are as follows.

1. By this means he hath secured himself on the side of *Spain*, which; though but an feebled Monarchy, yet in the late War put him to vast expences, by obliging him to send Armies to *Catalonia*, &c. and to be on his Guard every where else upon his Frontiers towards that Kingdom; which was a mighty Diversion to his Money and Troops. This he has now in a great Measure delivered himself from, or at least, if he be suffered to continue in possession, (for his Grandson is no other than his Lieutenant) it will be a great Advantage to himself, or any future King of *France*, to be secured on that side.

2. By this means he hath an opportunity to secure himself of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and to annex it to the Crown of *France*, which alone, considering its situation, will be of great Advantage to him, and as great an annoyance to *Spain*, in case of any rupture betwixt those two Kingdoms; because it opens his Passage into the very heart of *Spain*. And likewise when Affairs come to be a little settled, and that he thinks it proper for him to demand that Kingdom of the Spaniards, as his undoubted Right, they cannot with any good Grace deny him a Monarchy of his own, who hath been so kind to them to prevent theirs from being dismembred, and also to preserve their other Conquests to them, or if they do, he knows how to take it, whether they will or not.

3. By this means he hath depriv'd those that Confederate against him, of all the Spanish Harbours, which is another great Advantage towards his being possess'd of the Dominion of the *Mediteranean*, and makes him at the same time the Sole, or at least the greatest Proprietor of the *Straits* and *Levant* Trade; which hath been so very profitable to *England* and *Holland*.

4. By this means he not only secures himself against a War with the *Spaniards*, but engages them to be his Allies, (if not Subjects) in any future Wars; for now Experience hath

hath convinc'd the World, that the Government of *Spain* is in the Hands of *France*, as 'twas rationally alledg'd, it would be: By this, it appears how ill founded the opinion of those Gentlemen was that endeavour'd to hush our Allarms upon that surprizing Event, by telling us, that the *Spaniards* would never endure it, and that the Duke of *Anjou* would become as much a *Spaniard*, as were the former Princes of the House of *Austria*.

5. By this means he hath frightned the King of *Portugal* into an Allience with himself and *Spain*, for fear of losing his Crown and Dignity: So that if a timely stop be not put to his Progress, he will not only totally secure him on that side of *Europe*, but will engage the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* in his Interests and Quarrels, and make himself unatackable in those Parts by Sea and Land.

6. By his possessing himself of the Crown of *Spain*, he hath found Means to fix the Duke of *Savoy* inviolably in his Interests, by making his second Daughter Queen of *Spain*. This Step is so much the more considerable, because, First, It secures the King of *France* on that side against the most expensive War he coul'd be engag'd in, and against which, he is the worst provided, for his Country lies more open, and unguarded in those Parts than any where else. 2. It gives him a free passage into *Italy* by Land, whilst the Emperor must be oblig'd for the same to other Potentates that are not under the like Obligations to allow it him. 3. It secures him the assistance of one of the greatest Princes in *Italy*, who is thereby made so much the more considerable that his Dominions lye contiguous to the *Milanese*, which belonging to his Son-in-Law the King of *Spain*, must needs advance an Amicable Correspondence betwixt that Prince and the Dutchy of *Milan*, that he must now look upon as the Inheritance of his own Posterity.

7. By this means the *French* King becomes Master of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which is a very great point gain'd. 1. Because it incloses the rest of *Italy* and by Consequence over-aws the other Princes and States of that Country, and obliges them to be very observing and careful in their Measures, for they know they are within the Paws of the Lyon, who can tear them to pieces at his Pleasure. The Effects of this are very discernable already, by the Compliance of the Pope and *Genoese*, The latter have Granted him Harbours for his Shipping, and Passages for his Troops; and have likewise agreed to lend him Money. They know by fatal experience, that he can easily pick Quarrels with them, and make 'em redeem 'emselves from a Bombardment by opening their Purses, which would sink both Principal and Interest, and look with a much worse Grace, than a Loan tho' extorted, because now they can have Paper Security, which at some time or other they may find a way to make Valid, by themselves or their Allies. As to the Pope, it is evident from his Compliance in owning the King of *Spain*'s Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, tho' he hath not yet granted him the Investiture, that he dreads the power of *France*. What fatal Influence the French King's having the Pope at his Devotion, will have on the affairs of *Europe* may be readily conceived by those who consider the Authority of the See of *Rome*, over all those of the Popish Perswasion. This is no less than an actual investing of the Crown of *France*, both with the Temporal and Spiritual Sword, for henceforward if *Louis* the XIV. be suffered to go on, we must look upon the Pope to be no other than first Chaplain of State to the French King, for he will take upon him to dispose of the Pontifical Chair to his own Creatures without a possibility of Control. What a mighty Influence may this have on *Christendom*, when *Louis* XIV. and his Successors shall not only have the good things of this World, but likewise those of the other, to confer upon their Friends and Adherents: By this means they shall not only become absolute on Earth, but share the very Empire of Heaven, for nothing less is ascribed to the Keys of St. *Peter* by the Canon Law, and blind superstitious Popelings. If this be the Case, we may expect in a few Years to have all those call'd *Roman Catholicks*, undertake a Croisado against the Oppossers of *France*, as an infallible Means to obtain a free Pass to Heaven, without being Oblig'd to call at Purgatory by the way.

There is ſtill another conſiderable advantage accruing to the French King, by being Maſter of the Spaniſh Dominions in *Italy*, which is that he becomes thereby enabled more effectually to Aſſiſt his Ancient Allie the *Turk* to ruine the *German* Empire. All the Spaniſh Harbours of *Italy* are now at his Command, from whence by a ſhort Tranſport and eaſie Marches, he may invade the Emperor's Dominions in *Croatia* and *Hungary*, which he could not do before, and beſides being poſſeſs'd of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he has an opportunity of invading the Empire on that ſide, by the way of *Trent* and *Tirol*, ſo that in a ſmall compaſs of Years, he may attempt the Execution of his Project to divide the World betwixt himſelf and the Grand Senior, which was repreſented to us ſome Years before the Peace, by the French King and the Grand Seniors, having the Globe plac'd betwixt them, which they were cuting aſunder with a Saw.

We come next to conſider the Advantages which accrue to the French King on this ſide of *Europe*, by his ſeizure of the Crown of *Spain*, which are,

1. His being Maſter of the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, by which I conclude the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*. This is a thing of ſuch vaſt Conſequence, that the miſchievous Effects of it are like to be ſooner felt than conceiv'd. That he would poſſeſs himſelf of that Country was eaſie to be foreſeen, and the Conſequences of it have been frequently inculcated; the Effects that it hath already produc'd, are theſe that follow. 1. The obliging of the *Dutch*, to evacuate the Gariſons which they had in that Country, as a Security for the Money they advanc'd to the King of *Spain*, during the late War, and by this they are hector'd at once, both out of their Money and Defence. 2. This oblig'd the *Dutch* to own the Duke of *Anjou* as King of *Spain*; that they might recover their Troops, which the *French* would have otherwiſe detain'd, and that they might have time to ſecure their Frontiers, and ſtrengthen themſelves by Alliances. 3. This hath given the French King an opportunity of building new Forts, and of caſting up new Lines almoſt under the Canon of the *Dutch* Gariſons, by which he hath ſhut them up within their own Country, depriv'd them of their Natural Barrier, and put a Curb in their Jaws, which they cannot eaſily get rid off. 4. This hath oblig'd them to be at an inſupportable Expence of raiſing a mighty Army of their own and Foreign Troops, to equip a great Fleet, and to purchaſe Foreign Alliances, and yet all this is not enough, but they have likewiſe been forc'd to lay a great part of their Country under Water, to prevent the Incurſions of the *French*. 5. This hath oblig'd us in *England* to be at the Trouble and Expence of ſending over 10000 Men, and of Equipping a Squadron to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, according to the Treaty of 1677, and it enables the French King more than ever to diſpute the Soveraignty of the Narrow Seas with us. 6. For any thing that can be diſcerned to the contrary. The French King's ſeizing of *Flanders*, which hath always been look'd upon to be a natural Barrier to us, as well as the States, muſt in all probability have had ſome Influence upon our owning the Duke of *Anjou* as King of *Spain*, notwithſtanding any Reaſons, which from our Honour and Intereſt might have been alleg'd againſt it. 7. It is not to be doubted, but the French King's ſeizing of *Flanders*, did very much animiate the Enemies of the Government, to thoſe well known Inſolencies they were guilty of, againſt all thoſe of the Revolution Principles, whom they run down in ſuch a manner as 'twas eaſie to be diſcerned, that 'twas the Party they aim'd at, and not the puniſhment of Faults, which, had they been prov'd, ought indeed to have been ſeverely cenſured. 8. The French King by being Maſter of the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, is poſſeſs'd of a Country, which is known by Experience to be the moſt capable of bearing the burden of vaſt Armies of any in *Europe*, and abounds moſt with great and forfeited Towns of any Country of its Extent in *Chriſtendom*; as this is a great Advantage to him, it's as great a Loſs to us, and the States, who are not only depriv'd of that ſtrong and plentiful Country as a Barrier, and ſecure place of Retreat upon any Diſaſter in the Field, but it ſerves for the ſame purpoſe to our moſt formidable Enemy. 9. It follows naturally from what has been already ſaid, that by this means; the *French* are rendred more capable than ever of Invading *England* and *Holland*;

and

and of disturbing the Trade of both Countries, and that on the other hand, they are more secure than ever from being invaded by either of us; *Flanders*, which was formerly our Barrier, being now become theirs, as has been already mentioned.

8. By his seisure of the *Netherlands*, he hath had an opportunity to buy off two Electors of the Empire, *Bavaria* and *Cologn*: and it has enabled him with more ease than formerly, to invade the Dominions of Four other Electors, *viz. Brandenburg*, *Palatin*, *Treves* and *Ments*. By this means he hath opened his way into the bowels of the Empire, and put himself in a better Condition to support those Princes who oppose the 9th Electorat, and are for a Naturality, *&c.* These are the visible and undeniable Effects of his being possess'd of the Spanish *Netherlands*.

In the Next place, let us consider a little more, particularly the Advantages which that Monarch reaps, by having the Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria* in his Interests. By the former he has an opportunity on pretence of assisting him against the Chapters of *Liege* and *Cologn*; (for that the Treacherous, Ungrateful, and Ambitious Prelate hath pick'd Quarrels with both of them on purpose) to enter into their Countries. Those of *Liege* are not able to make any Resistance of themselves, and by being Master of that City and Principality, he blocks up *Mastricht* on one side, opens his way into Dutch *Brabant*, *Limburg* and *Gelderland*, and likewise into the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and by fortifying *Liege* and *Limberg* makes to himself a strong Barrier on that side, by which he may lay *Aix la Chappelle*, and the Dutchy of *Juliers* and *Cleves* under Contribution. In the next place, by having the Elector of *Cologn* in his Interests, he secures to himself the Garrisons of *Bonne*, *Keyserswart*, and *Rhinberg*, which that Elector is now possess'd of, by which he blocks up the City of *Cologn* on both sides, in a manner shuts up the Elector *Palatin* in his Capital of *Dusseldorp*, may easily deprive him of his City and Dutchy of *Juliers*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* of his Capital of *Cleves*, and all that part of the Dutchy on the West side of the *Rhine*, and in a word, not only obstructs the Commerce of that River, which is so necessary and advantagious to *Germany* and *Holland*, but from *Bonne* may open his Passage into the very heart of the Empire, which on that side is but dull guarded by Fortresses or strong Towns, and from *Rhineberg* he may fall in thro' the other side of the Dutchy of *Cleve*, upon the back of the United Provinces, Ravage the County of *Zutphen* and Lordship of *Overissel*, or if he think fit to attack the City of *Cologn*, by being Master of *Bonne*, *Keyserwart* and *Rhineberg*, he prevents it having any Relief by Water, and that City being of a very large Extent, cannot be defended without a great Army and vast Expence. In the last place, by having the Elector of *Cologn* in his Interest, he assures himself of his Suffrage in the Diet, and deprives the Emperor of it, as has already appear'd in the Cases of the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Savoy*, and in those of the Neutrality and 9th *Electorat*. This every one knows is of very great Consequenee, since by this means that Elector has an opportunity of retarding the Emperor's Affairs, of Favouring the French King's Interest under hand, and of imbroiling those of the Empire. The importance of this cannot be better understood, than by considering what a few ill Men have in all Reigns been capable to do in our own Parliaments, and how much their palpable opposition to the true Interest of the Nation, or their undermining it secretly by specious Pretences, have contributed towards an Entailment of Slavery upon us and our Posterity.

In the next place, the Advantage accruing to the French King, by having the Elector of *Bavaria* in his Interests, is so great, that it is not at first to be easily seen or conceived. But thus far is plain, that he is one of the greatest Princes of the Empire, that he is capable of leading an Army, and of raising a considerable Force of his own, that the Situation of his Dominions is such, as enables him to invade the Paternal Inheritance of the House of *Austria* on the one side, and to give Disturbance to the Circles of *Franconia*, *Swabia*, and the *Upper Rhine* on the other, that he is capable of depriving the Emperor of one Suffrage in the Diet, and of giving the King of *France* another, and that by the Palatinat of *Bavaria* on the North, and by the Dutchy and Electorat of

Bavaria

Bavaria on the South, it is in his Power to block up the Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbone*, or to oblige them to remove at his Pleasure. He gave us a proof very lately of what he is capable to do in this Matter, by his entertaining the Deputy of the Circle of *Burgundy*, at a House of his just opposite to *Ratisbone*, when that Deputy was order'd to quit the Diet, and the Dominions of the Empire, and by his Numerous Army and great Summs of French Gold, which he receives not under the disgraceful name of a Bribe, but under the specious pretence of being Governour of the Spanish *Netherlands*, he seems capable of opening the French King's Passage to the *Danube*, that he may meet his most dear and Natural Allie the Grand Senior before the Walls of *Vienna*. These are a few of the many obvious and pernicious Consequences of the French King's seizing the Spanish *Netherlands*; which is enough to strike us with Amazement, that *England* was not more sensible of this in the Close of 1700. and in the begining of 1701. when the House of Commons was so sensible of our Danger from the French King's taking only a few Towns in the Spanish *Netherlands* in 1677. that they zealously Address'd his Majesty, *To enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the* States General *of the United Provinces, against the Power of the* French King, *and for the Preservation of the Spanish* Netherlands, *and to make such other Alliances with other such of the Confederates as his Majesty should think fit and useful for that End.* The Reasons of this Address are express'd in a former, presented on *March* 6 that Year, *viz. That in the Preservation and Security of the* Netherlands, *the Interest of his Majesty, and the Safety of his People were highly concern'd,* and his Majesty in his Answer owned, *That the Preservation of* Flanders *was of great Importance to* England. This being duly consider'd, we may readily conclude, that that Parliament would neither have allow'd an Indifferency in the Throne, nor have admitted delays among themselves, had the King of *Spain* been then dead, and the *Fr.* King actually seiz'd, not only of the *Netherlands*, but of the whole Spanish Monarchy; then since it is certainly more the Interest of *England* now, than it could have been then, to oppose the *French* with Vigor, we have but too just Reason to apprehend that the Influence of that same Party, which then advis'd King *Charles* II. to frustrate the desires of his People, and to tos the Parliament from one Adjournment to another, while the French King strengthned himself in his new Conquests, hath had no small hand in the faintness of the Opposition, that we have lately made to that Monarch, tho' now arriv'd to a pitch of Power and Grandeur, infinitely above what at that time did so much allarm the Nation. There's still another considerable Advantage, that the French King has by seizing the Spanish Dominions, which is that it entitles him to the United Provinces, and the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and their respective Conquests in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and there's no doubt, he will lay Claim to them, as soon as he finds that the Posture of his Affairs will bear it.

Having thus taken a brief View of the Advantages accruing to the French King, by his seizure of the Spanish Dominions in *Europe*. Let us enquire a little into those Advantages that do naturally arise to him from his being possess'd of their Dominions in *America*, which may be considered as follows.

1. By this means he is possess'd of most of the Fountains of Gold and Silver, or at least of the most considerable Fountains of those Minerals, that are yet known in the World. This is that bottomless and inexhaustable Treasure, with which the lofty Spaniard out-brav'd the Politick *Venetian*, when he shew'd him the vast Summs of Money which the Senate had in store, in order to deter the *Spaniards* from a War upon the Republick. *This Treasure is great indeed, said the* Spaniard, *but it has a bottom whereas my Master has none.* Then since it is evident that Men and Money are the Sinews of War, and that he who has Money will never want Men: it naturally follows, that if the French King be suffered to continue in possession of the Spanish *West-Indies*, he will be thereby enabled to carry on a War with great probability of Success against the rest of *Europe*. The French King is every whit as well vers'd in the art of Bribery, as in the art of Fighting; and since it is too plain from Experience,

that

that moſt of his Neigbouring Princes are leſs capable of reſiſting his Bribes, than of finding Armour of proof for his Bullets. What is it, that *Europe* has not to fear from the Mines of *Peru* and *Potoſi* in the Management of *France*

2. By this means he is poſſeſs'd of the Advantage of depriving *England*, *Holland*, and other Nations of all Trade to the Spaniſh *Weſt-Indies*, and of engroſſing it to himſelf and his own Subjects. This was foreſeen in the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succeſſion conſidered, *Part* II. *Page* 20. and accordingly he hath already commenced it, by an Agreement to ingroſs the Slave Trade betwixt himſelf and the King of *Spain*, and the *French* Company of *Senegal*. The Conſequences of this to *England* were pointed at in the ſame Place, and are obvious to any Man that will allow himſelf the freedom of Thought, *viz.* That it will ruin the beſt part of our *Jamaica* Trade, prevent our having Bullion from the *Weſt-Indies*, by means of our own Plantations, or the Spaniſh Galleons, and by Conſequence, diſable us from carrying on our *Eaſt-India* Trade, without melting down or exporting our Coin; and of what miſchievous Conſequence that may be to the Nation, will ſooner be felt than prevented.

It is needleſs to multiply Words or to inſiſt on many Particulars, for there's no Man who is not reſolv'd to do Violence to Senſe and Reaſon, but muſt own, that we ſhall loſe our whole Plantations in *America*, and have all our Country Men in thoſe Parts Butcher'd, Baniſhed, or made Slaves, if the *French* King be ſuffered to go on as he has begun.

Let ſo much ſuffice, for a brief View of the French King's Power. The next thing to be conſidered is, the Condition of thoſe who are or ſhould be in oppoſition to him.

We ſhall begin with the Emperor, as to whom it may juſtly be ſaid, 1. That tho' his Cauſe be good, his Ability to maintain it is but ſmall. 2. That he has the Misfortune to be too much govern'd by Prieſts, and particularly by Jeſuits, who are the bane of Humane Society, undermine and betray all that truſt them, and are generally in the Intereſts of *France*, becauſe *Louis* XIV. has been more Zealous and Succeſsful in deſtroying the Reformation, than any other Prince of his time. 3. That as the natural Reſult of Bigotry and Arbitrary Power, the Emperor's Subjects in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, are ſo much diſoblig'd by the unnatural and barbarous Perſecution they have undergone, that they can have no entire Confidence in a Prince, whoſe Conſcience is directed by their ſworn Enemies, a Set of Men that will be contented with nothing leſs than the abſolute Ruin of all Proteſtants, and therefore, the Emperor's Subjects of that Religion are in a great Meaſure made uſeleſs to him, and forc'd to throw themſelves from time to time, upon the Protection of the *Ottoman* Family, who allow them the Freedom of their Religion, and therefore frequently prevail upon them to join in their Wars againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. 4. That as Emperor, his Intereſt is much ſunk in the Empire, partly upon the Account of ſome Incroachments complain'd of, by ſeveral Electors and Princes upon their Civil Rights, partly upon the Account of the barbarous Perſecution of the Elector *Palatin*, and others againſt the Proteſtans of the Empire, which has been frequently complain'd of to his Imperial Majeſty, but never as yet redreſs'd, and partly by the Intrigues and Bribery of the French King, who hath thereby as mentioned already, form'd a very ſtrong Party againſt him in the Empire. 5. It is very well known, that his Imperial Majeſty hath no Naval Force, and that the Dominions of *Spain*, can never be reduc'd under the Scepter of his Family without one. 6. That his Treaſure is very much exhauſted by the late War againſt *France* and the *Turk*. 7. That the Empire is in continual Danger of being imbroil'd in its Northern Parts, by the War betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*. 8 That three of the Electors of the *Empire*, and ſeveral of its other Princes being Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, can hardly be ſuppos'd ever to join cordially with him in a War; for the Succeſs of which he muſt chiefly rely upon Proteſtant Aſſiſtance. 9. That many of the Princes of the Empire, and particularly thoſe that lye neareſt the *French* are but poor and weak, and by Con-

ſequence, liable to be hector'd or brib'd into the Intereſt of *France*. 10. That the Emperor hath been hitherto very unhappy in the Management of his Alliances with *England* and *Holland*, who being diſoblig'd by the intemperate Zeal of the Court of *Vienna*, againſt the Reformation, at the late Treaty of *Reſwick*, or otherwiſe prevail'd upon, God knows how, became engag'd in a firſt and ſecond Partition againſt the Honour and Intereſt of his Family.

We ſhall in the next place take a View of the United Provinces in our way homeward, concerning whom we may obſerve, 1. That being a Country that ſubſiſts chiefly by Trade, to which, War is certainly ruinous. We are not to wonder if the Trading part of that Country be very averſe to it, and by Conſequence, obſtruct ſuch Reſolves as tend to carry it on. 2. That being a People who are very jealous of their Liberty, and knowing that popular Generals at the Head of numerous Armies, do alwayes endanger the Peoples Freedom, it follows naturally, that they ſhould be careful to avoid a War, which gives their Captain Generals ſuch an opportunity, eſpecially conſidering the Riſk that they have run, of being ruined that way oftner then once. 3. That upon this very Head they are divided into Factions, which we may well enough call Republicans and Royaliſts, for the Souldiery and others, who depend upon the Stadtholder, are for allowing him little, if any thing leſs than a Regal Power, and the reſt are conſtantly for leſſening his Authority, Which hath had the ſame pernicious Effects among them in proportion, that the Struggles betwixt Prerogative and Property have had among us. 4. That their Conſtitution is none of the Happieſt, for being ſeven diſtinct Sovereignties, and not to be concluded by the Majority, it renders them the more liable to be practis'd upon, in order to be devided. 5. That they have a conſiderable Number of papiſts among them, who are always Enemies to a proteſtant Government, and are taught by their Prieſts to ſacrifice the Intereſt of their Country to that of their Church, of which the King of *France* is now the profeſſed Champion. 6. That being under the ſame politick Head with us, they are liable to the Influence of the ſame deſtructive Delays or other Impediments, which any ill party in this Nation is capable of laying in the way of our Councils or Actions. 7. That they are much exhauſted, and burden'd with Debt by the late War, and their people uneaſie upon that Accouut as well as we.

In the next place, let us take a View of our own Condition at home ; as to which, it is evident, that we abound with ſharp and ſhameful Diviſions, that have a very melancholly Aſpect, and ſuch indeed as may make us juſtly apprehend the Verification of that in our particular Caſe, which our Saviour ſaid of all ſuch in General, that a Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand. What Native of theſe Kingdoms can without Grief conſider, that the three Nations which make up the Britiſh *Empire*, are by an unhappy Management brought to a Diſunion among themſeves, as to Intereſt and Affection.

What Engliſhman is able to command his paſſion, who conſiders the preſent State of his Country. A Nation divided in the Conſtituent parts of its Government, can admit of no Harmony amongſt its Subjects, but from the King on the Throne to the Beggar on the Dunghill, every Individual muſt ſuffer more or leſs, by ſuch a Diviſion, yet ſuch is our Misfortune, that we are divided in our Parliaments, divided in our Councils, and this Diviſion runs thro' all the Counties, Cities Corporations and Societies in the Kingdom, and creates and nouriſhes unnatural Heats, Jars, and Animoſities among people of all Ranks. Is it not ſtrange that ſuch a wiſe and mighty Nation, who have from time to time ſo glorioufly aſſerted their Liberties againſt Foreign and Domeſtick Uſurpations, and have had their *Magna Charta* confirm'd oftner then once, with a Solemnity inferiour to nothing, that ever was tranſacted upon Earth, but the promulgation of the Divine Law from Mount *Sinai*. Is it not ſtrange I ſay, that ſuch a Nation ſhould not yet know the true Boundaries betwixt prerogative and property, but that we ſhould be as ready to cut one another Throats, and fall to ſides under the fooliſh Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, as the *Italians* were formerly under the like pernicious Diſtinction

on of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, and as if that Diviſion were not enough, each Branch of it admits of Subdiviſions, State-Whigs and Church-Whigs, State-Tories and Church-Tories, King *William*'s Tories, and King *James*'s Tories, Court-Whigs and Country-Whigs. There's another Denomination very common among us, which carries the moſt plauſible and generous Aſpect of all the reſt, and that's an *Engliſh Man*, but then it neceſſarily implys, that there's a Party among us, who are not thought worthy of that Character. We have yet Badges of Diviſion of a more modern Impreſſion, and that is Old Company Men and New Company Men, Old Miniſtry Men and New Miniſtry Men, and under Spur Leathers to both, and as if our Hydra had not yet Heads enough, there's new ones ſtill a ſpringing up, there's Addreſſes and Non-Addreſſers, and as if we were condemn'd to a Superfœtation of Diviſions *in infinitum*, no ſooner does a new Diviſion ſpring up, but ſtraight there ariſes another almoſt cœvous with it ſelf; for we ſcarce heard of Addreſſers and Non-Addreſſers, but as ſoon as we heard of thoſe who Addreſſed for the continuation of the late Parliament, and theſe were called Church of *England* Addreſſes, and of others who Addreſs'd for calling a new one, and thoſe tho' never ſo good Churchmen Were branded as Fanaticks; ſome promiſe to defend the Succeſſion as ſettled in the *Proteſtant Line*, and the Church as by Law eſtabliſh'd; and ſome Addreſs without any mention either of Church or Succeſſion; ſome in their Addreſſes reflect upon the Old Miniſtry, and applaud the Proceedings of the Commons againſt them, and others in their Addreſſes inveigh as ſharply againſt the new Miniſtry, as is obvious to any Man that reads them, ſo that we are divided in our very Prayers to God and to the King. Some Addreſs againſt the French King and the pretended Prince of *Wales*, in ſuch a manner as beſpeaks their being truly Cordial and Sincere in what they ſay, and ſome mention thoſe two perſons in their Addreſſes like a toothleſs Aſs mumbling Thiſtles; or like a Patient ſwallowing a Potion of Phyſick, ſo much againſt their Stomach as infallibly Prognoſticates, that they will vomit it up again, ſome talk of a War, as if their Swords were already brandiſh'd, and their Taxes paid into the Treaſury, and others talk of it in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently declares their Averſion to contribute any thing towards it by Purſe or Perſon; ſome are for aſſiſting our Allies with Foreign Troops hir'd with our Money; ſome are for troubling our ſelves with no Alliances at all, but think we are able to defend our ſelves with our Fleet, and let the reſt of *Europe* take it's Fate; ſome are for a ſtanding Force, and ſome are for none at all; ſome are for having all the People of *England* exercis'd in Arms, becauſe they reckon that they will not readily be falſe to themſelves, and alledge for this the ancient practice of the Nation, and the preſent practice of our plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, by which they have defended themſelves againſt the common Enemy without a ſtanding Force; but others are againſt this, becauſe they think it would be dangerous to the Prerogative, as if that and the Peoples Intereſt ſhould ever thwart one another; ſome are for preſerving the Peace of *Europe*, in ſuch a Senſe as they would have the French King remain undiſturb'd in all his Uſurpations, and ſome are for a War, in order to procure a more ſolid and laſting peace; ſome are for the Lords and others for the Commons, and ſome think there were Faults on both ſides, and are for ſtriking a Medium; ſome are for a Monarchy, and others for a Common wealth, and they again crumble into Subdiviſions. Of the Royaliſts, ſome are for a limited, and others for an abſolute Monarchy, and amongſt the Republicans; ſome are for an Ariſtocracy, others for a Democracy, and they are not agreed among themſelves whether *Holland*, *Venice*, *Swiſſerland*, or *Harrington*'s Oceana ſhall be the Model. Nay, our very Jacobites are divided among themſelves, as appears by the E. of *Melfort*'s late Letter; ſome were for having the late King brought in by French Arms, (and no doubt its the ſame with his pretended Son) and others were for having it effected with the conſent of the People; ſome of them again are for his giving Liberty of Conſcience, and others againſt it, ſome of them are for a ſeparate Church of *England* under the Ghoſtly Conduct of the Nonjurant Biſhops and Clergy, others are for complying with the preſent Church as well as with the preſent Government which they own to be ſuch *de facto* tho' not *de jure*.

Then if we take a View of the State of the Nation as to Religion, we are divided into Proteſtants and Papiſts, and the latter as appears by an ingenious and particular Account of it, printed about two years ago, are more numerous and inſolent at preſent, than they have been perhaps ſince the begining of K. *Charles* I. Reign, when his French Popiſh Queen ſhar'd his Throne as well as his Bed. As to the Subdiviſions among the Papiſts, it ſignifies little to our Subject to take any notice of them, for tho' ſome of them are ſo moderate, as to think they ought to live quietly under any Government that ſecures them in their Property; yet our Engliſh Papiſts being generally Perverts, and by conſequence declar'd Traitors to the Engliſh Conſtitution, it follows naturally that they muſt be Enemies to a Government, which conſiders them no otherwiſe than as Criminal Subjects.

But to return to the Proteſtants. They are divided into Churchmen and Diſſenters, and each of theſe have their Subdiviſions. There's King *William*'s Churchmen and King *James*'s Churchmen, as already mentioned. There's High Churchmen and Moderate Churchmen; the former think Epiſcopacy of Divine Right, and ſome of them fly ſo high, as to ſay, there's no Salvation without it; the latter think that Epiſcopacy and Ceremonies are only the product of Eccleſiaſtical Prudence and Order, and derive their chief Authority from the Statute Book; the former are for bringing all Men to a ſtrict Uniformity by Pœnal Laws; the latter are for indulging their fellow Chriſtians, and againſt a coercive power in Matters Religious. Some of them again are Arminians, and others Calviniſts, and a third ſort of the middle way. Some of them are for *Paſſive Obedience* in the Sence it was taught in the late Reigns; ſome of them are for reconciling that Doctrine which the principles of the Revolution; ſome of them are for ſigning the Articles of the Church as Terms of peace; others are for ſubſcribing them as the Confeſſion of their own Faith, and the principal Terms of Communion with the Church; ſome of them are for the Morality of the Sabbath, and others againſt it, and for a Book of Sports, and of late we have a new Diviſion ſtarted among them, purſued with Acrimony and Heat enough, about the power of the upper and lower Houſes of Convocation.

Then as to the Diſſenters, they are ſubdivided into *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Quakers* and others; and each of theſe have their Subdiviſions: And as all of them are againſt the eſtabliſhed Church, the Church is likewiſe againſt all of them. This weakens our Mutual Confidence in one another, creates Animoſities and Jealouſies, and makes us far leſs conſiderable than otherwiſe we ſhould be. However, it's our great Happineſs, that much of the Poyſon and Malignity of thoſe multiplied Diviſions is taken away ſince the Revolution, by the laying aſide of the *Penal Laws*. Perſecution always increaſes Rancour, and heightens Religious Diviſions, and therefore is never practic'd but in ſuch Governments where Tyranny is deſign'd, and indeed moſt of thoſe Differences among Eccleſiaſticks have been from time to time fomented by Arbitrary princes, that they might divide their Subjects, in order to ſet up an Arbitrary Sway; thus they make their protection neceſſary to all parties, and grant it to ſuch of them by turns as they find moſt for their Intereſt. It follows then by neceſſary Conſequence, that the beſt way to remove thoſe Diviſions, is to allow none of the contending parties any power over another, and that ſince Eccleſiaſticks are generally too narrow Sould to enlarge their Terms of Communion, the State ſhould do it for them, and not ſuffer one part of their Subjects to tear to pieces, and to Anathematize another that differs from them in ſuch things, as cannot be found plainly expreſs'd in the Text, or naturally deducible from it. It's therefore the Intereſt of the State to reduce all that is to be injoin'd, for Faith and Practice to the Standard of Revelation, without allowing any humane Impoſitions for Terms of Communion, and in ſuch things as they differ from one another, they ought to be oblig'd to a Mutual Forbearance. This is the Apoſtles Rule for the Chriſtian Church, and when Eccleſiaſticks come to ſuch a temper of their own accord, or by the Care and Conduct of the Civil Magiſtrate, then and not till then

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are we to expect the return of Primitive Simplicity and true Catholick Christianity which will make the Lyon lye down with the Lamb, and prevent Religions being made a Firebrand to Civil Contentions, or a Stalking Horse for Ambitious Princes to cover their Arbitrary Designs.

So far we have taken a View of the black side of the Cloud, and would to God we had any just Ground to apprehend that our Skie begins to clear. Of all the Threatning and dangerous Symptomes that are visible upon us, our Parliamentary Divisions look with the most fatal Aspect; when the Head and Intellectuals come once to be affected, 'tis certain the Distemper is risen to a dangerous height, and that a Crisis is hastening upon us, which will either cure or kill. It's hop'd that by the late Recess and Dissolution, the Causes of former Differences are so much forgtten, as to be no more remembred, or at least so as to be laid aside till a more convenient time. We are like to be attack'd by a common Enemy, whose Power grows more formidable every day, let us then have so much common prudence as to lay aside our Intestine Quarrels, till we be deliver'd from our Foreign Adversary. I remember to have read a remarkable Passage in our own History, that during an Inundation or a Land Flood in *Somersetshire*, as I take it, several Beasts of prey, and such others, as they naturally prey upon and after, were forc'd to take Sanctuary together in a rising Ground, and their common Danger did so much abate their natural Enmity that they herded together very peaceably. Nothing but a Judicial In fatuation, can hinder Englishmen at such a Juncture as this, to have less Wisdom and Conduct than those English Brutes. It's hop'd that our contending parties are neither of them so fond of popery and Slavery, as to give the French King an opportunity to entail them upon us, while they pursue their Animosities against one another. We ought to consider well, whether those Differences be not fomented among us by his means. The Town hath been sufficiently stunn'd with the noise of meeting betwixt some Gentlemen, and one of his Agents, and Fr. Louisd'ores have clink'd so loud as to be hear'd thro' all *England*. Therefore it concerns us to beware of Heats at home lest they, should bring Fire and Sword upon us from abroad. We have greater Concerns now to mind than, whether the Whiggs or Tories shall be uppermost in Court or parliament, nor is it any way proper for us to listen to those party Allarms, that are sounded so high by virulent pamphlets on both sides. If the Decision of the Controvrsie be referred to the Nation, it's ten to one but they will determine that they have been injured by both, and that the Leaders of the several Factions have minded their own Credit and Profit more than they have done the Honour and Interest of their Country. It's all one to the good People of *England*, if their Blood and Treasure be lavishly spent, and their Liberty and Property be undermin'd, whether it be done by a Whigg or Tory; they have both appeal'd to the Publick by their Writings, and the Publick is apt to think they are both to blame, and if the Janglings be further continued to the neglect of the publick Affairs of the Nation, and its Allies, the People will readily be inclin'd to think both of them Criminal.

It's hop'd that the general dissatisfaction, which appear'd in the Kingdom at the late unseasonable Heats, and the extravagant Height they arrived to, may have coold some of those Firebrands of Contention, which were unhappily thrown in among us.

The contending Parties may rest satisfied, that the chief Fruits they are to expect from their mutual *Quarrels* will be their blackning one another so, as to make both of 'em odious to the World; when the one falls foul upon the Treaty of Partiton, as a Breach of Grand Alliance, the other replys, that supposing it to be as black as they would have it, they can never make it so culpable as suffering the Fr. King to go away with the whole: and owning the Duke of *Anjou* in his Usurpation. If the one throw Dirt upon the Modern Whiggs; the other is as zealous to bespatter the old Tories, if the one

be charg'd with raiſing to themſelves prodigious Eſtates; with procuring unlawful Grants, and with concurring to keep up a ſtanding Army; there are that will tell ye, that the charge is falſe, or at leſt aggravated to the utmoſt Extent, and that ſuppoſing it to be true, the other party was guilty of all theſe things in the late Reigns, to much worſe purpoſes, for theſe Eſtates, and theſe Troops were deſigned for no other end, but to ſupport our preſent Conſtitution, whereas thoſe Eſtates, thoſe Grants, and thoſe Troops were deſign'd for the utter Subverſion of our Religion and Liberty. It were endleſs, and to no purpoſe to go thro' all the particulars of the Charge, which the parties have brought againſt one another, nor can it have any other Effect, but to augment the Flame of Contention, which burns too fiercely already, to need any additional Fewel. The Nation ſtands in need of Cordials and not of Corroſives, and the only way for both Parties to ſhew themſelves good Patriots, and to recover their Credit with the people, is for the one party to demonſtrate by their future Behaviour, that they are ſtill the Men they formerly profeſs'd to be, and for the other to demonſtrate in like manner, that they are not the Men they were formerly known to be, and thus far we may make bold to ſay, that the Nation will ſcarcely look upon the latters purſuing of party Quarrels with ſo much partiality, and their creating of Delays in ſuch Meaſures as ought to be taken againſt the Common Enemy, to be true marks of a ſincere Converſion, no more then they will look upon the Treaty of partition, Grants, Bribes, Penſions, and ſtanding Armies, *&c.* charged upon the former to be marks of a ſteady perſeverance. It's things and not Men and parties, that we muſt now have our Eye upon. We ought to be ſeeking for Expedients of Union, and not to ſpend our time in raking into the paſt Faults of perſons and parties, which can have no other Iſſue, but to heighten our Diviſions. We ought to know nothing of Faction in ſuch a juncture as this, when our Endeavours ſhould be united againſt the common Enemy, but if nothing leſs will ſerve thoſe that ſeem now to be moſt intent upon the Deſign of ſetting up one party, and throwing down another, than an abſolute Conqueſt over the perſons and Reputations of thoſe they account their Adverſaries. It may be eaſily foreſeen, without a ſpirit of prophecy, that the party attackt will make a vigorous Defence, and if no other Weapons, but thoſe of Recrimination will do, it may readily be foretold, which of the parties will look with the blackeſt Aſpect at long-run. There have been and ſtill may be ill Men on both ſides. But when the Degrees and Nature of the Crimes, and the direct Influence which the reſpective principles of the contending parties may have upon the Faults, that both of them are charg'd with, come to be examin'd and compar'd, 'tis no hard matter to gueſs on which ſide the Ballance will turn, and which of the parties will appear to be moſt naturally adapted to preſerve or deſtroy the Engliſh Conſtitution. It will therefore be the Wiſdom of the purſuers not to be too eager in the Chaſe, it has been many times known that a too fierce Aſſailant, hath loſt his Life, by venturing too boldly upon the point of a retiring Defendant: And thoſe that are for the true Intereſt of *England*, who it's hop'd are by far the moſt numerous party, when they ſee the contending parties ſo much taken up in the Defence of their own Intereſt and Credit, as to neglect thoſe of the Nation, they may be oblig'd to take ſuch Meaſures as to out them both.

We read of many prodigies that went before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, moſt of them fill'd the Minds of the Spectators with the expectation of ſome terrible Event, but none of 'em did ſo naturally prognoſticate the Ruin of that City, as their irreconcileable Factions among themſelves, when they were all attack'd by the common Enemy. Our caſe is much the ſame, we have a formidable Enemy without, yet are full of Factions within, and the nearer the Enemy approaches, the more fierce is our Party War. If we continue in this Diſpoſition, its eaſie to foreſee the Event.

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By this means we must of necessity be over-run by the Power of the French King, or become a Prey to our own Government, when ever we have the misfortune to fall under the Conduct of an Ambitious and Aspiring Prince.

It's the natural Genius and Constitution of all such Monarchs to foment differences on purpose and to play one party against another, till they make both of them their Slaves and Vassals, as the French Kings have for many Years done by their miserable Subjects, and therefore its the height of Folly and Madness for the people of *England*, to suffer themselves to be any further practis'd upon by such unnatural and unreasonable Divisions.

There is this, which is something odd in our Case, and perhaps renders the Cure more difficult. The Contending Parties do both of them profess a Cordial Affection to his Majesty's Person, and a mighty Zeal for the English Constitution, and yet are divided into Whiggs and Tories; and under these Denominations, keep up an unnatural Ferment in the Kingdom, so that whatever is propos'd or favour'd by the one, is generally oppos'd and suspected by the other, tho' never so good or rational in it's self. Thus we have seen Tories in this Reign contrary to their old Principles Act, as Whiggs, and Whiggs in the same manner act like Tories. The Reason is obvious. The Tories by their principles were Enemies to the Revolution, and therefore being afraid of the present Government, were oblig'd to make use of the Whiggish Principle to lay it under Restraints, and keep it within the Bounds of Law, lest it should totally crush them, this oblig'd them in some things to act the part of good Patriots for their own Safety. On the other hand, the Whiggs laying aside all jealousie of a Government, founded on a popular Basis, and willing to secure themselves against those who were of the contrary Party, have perhaps concur'd to allow this Government a greater Liberty in some things, than they would have been willing to allow another that had been their Enemy, and so far they have been in the wrong. It can never be the Interest of a wise people to allow a good Government any more Power than they would allow a bad one, because, as *Solomon* tells us, with relation to private Inheritance, *No Man knows whether he that comes after him will be a wise Man or a Fool*, 'Tis as impossible for People in an Hereditary Government to know whether the next Successor will sway *according to Law*, or *govern in an Arbitrary manner*. Whoever is possessed of the Monarchy, will grasp at all the power that hath been allowed their Predecessors, and let them be as bad as *Nero* or *Domitian*, they shall always find a party in the State that will fall in with their Measures for the sake of Places or Pensions, and the Clergy that they protect in the possession of the Church, and indulge with a Liberty to prosecute others, will be sure to preach them up as Sacred and Inviolable, and consecrate them with the Title of God's Vicegerent. There's no Man can call this in Question who will be at the pains to cast his Eye over the Channel, and take a view of the Government of *France* for these last two hundred Years: Or look back on our own late Reigns.

This Consideration alone might serve to unite our Whiggs and our Tories, would they but allow themselves the use of their Reason. They have both of them felt the weight of opposite Governments, and when that was their respective Lot, they both endeavoured to lay the Government under Restraints, and to keep the Executive Power within the Limits of the Law. This Harmony in practice ought to unite them in principle, and to bring them both to consider that they should not allow that against others, which they would not have done against themselves, and as the natural Result of this, they ought both to concur in reducing our Government to the Original Standard of all Government, which is a power to do Good, but to deprive them of all power of being unjust to their people. And then, and not till then, will our Governours be truly the Vicegerents of God Almighty, who can do no Injustice to his Creatures that he governs. Our contending parties have made a considerable advance towards this in the late Act for settling the Succession, which together with their joint owning of the present Government, unites them both in the Whiggish principle, and destroys the very Notion of Torism, for properly speaking, no Tory can submit to the

Revolution

Revolution, or agree to the Act of Succeſſion. The matter being ſo, it's the moſt unreaſonable thing in the World, that ſuch a Diſtinction ſhould ſtill obtain amongſt thoſe, who ſubmit to King *William*, or are allow'd any Share in the Adminiſtration; the Thing by that means being deſtroy'd, there's no Reaſon to keep up the Name, for there can be no Tory in the proper Senſe of the World, but thoſe who always adher'd to the late King, and do now own his pretended Son.

I know it is objected by ſome of the Whigs that a ſtrong party of *de facto Tories* abandon'd the late King, when they ſaw his Cauſe deſperate, and fell in with the preſent Government, that thoſe Men have chang'd Maſters, but not Principles, and endeavour to get into the Adminiſtration, and to recommend themſelves to the Government, as more fit to be imploy'd for the ſupport of the Monarchy than thoſe of the Revolution Principles. Theſe Men (ſay they) think that there's a vaſt Difference betwixt a Government in its Infancy and Maturity, that Princes while their Poſſeſſion is diſputed, or the Succeſs of their Claim uncertain, will for their own Intereſt fall in with the party that is moſt averſe to the Governor in the Poſſeſſion, but being once ſettled, and in no fear of the outed Governor; their Intereſt leads them to fall in with the party that continued firm to the laſt Goverment, as long as they could with Safety, becauſe 'tis an Argument that they are Perſons of moſt Honour, and of Principles leaſt adapted to control their Monarchs, and therefore more fit to be truſted than thoſe that were for the Revolution. When once ſuch Men can get into Adminiſtration, and that we have the Misfortune of falling under the Government of a weak Prince, they will be for advancing the prerogative as high as ever, in order to aſcertain themſelves of the Princes Favour, and will break thro' all thoſe Limitations and Reſtraints, which they concur'd to lay upon a Prince, that they could not bring to fall in with their Meaſures, and who according to them was only a King *de facto*, which in plain Engliſh is no other than an Uſurper, and therefore we have not only reaſon to be ſuſpicious of thoſe Men's Converſion, ſince at beſt we can reckon them no other than Tories at large, but we have reaſon likewiſe to be jealous of all that they do, and to oppoſe whatever they attempt towards laying a Reſtraint on the Prerogative, leſt by diſobliging the Government we ſhould loſe it to that ſide; and by that means throw our ſelves unavoidably into all the Calamities of the late Reigns.

To this it may be anſwered, That though theſe things are juſtly enough ſuſpected of ſome particular Men, it were great want of Charity to charge it upon the whole Party. Many of them may be actually convinc'd by what has been debated in Parliament, and written ſince the Revolution upon that Subject, and others may be ſatisfied from their own Obſervation, that ſuch Principles as they were formerly led into, are inconſiſtent with the Good of the People, which is the ultimate End of all Magiſtracy; that for ſuch of them as come into the Government upon Views which are contrary to the Intereſt of *England*, they ought when they diſcover themſelves to be treated as Enemies to their Country: But it will by no means follow, that the beſt way for the Whiggs to ſecure themſelves againſt them, is to go over to their old Principles, and to adviſe or concur with one Government in any thing that may be introductive of Arbitrary Power under another.

It is evident, That the beſt way to be delivered from ſuch an ill ſort of men as this Objection ſuppoſes, is to fall in with them in whatever they propoſe for the Security of the People's Liberty, without enquiring what Principle it flows from: For by this Means they will be rendered Uncapable of practiſing any of thoſe Things that the *OBJECTION* charges them to have in deſign, but muſt be taken in their own Snare.

As to that part of Objection which relates to the diſobliging of the preſent Government, it's the greateſt piece of Injuſtice that can be offered to his Majeſty's

jesty's Character and Conduct; he came to set us at Liberty at first, and by his accepting our Bill of Right then, and his agreeing to the Act of Succession now, he hath clearly manifested to the World, his readiness to grant what may really tend to the Good of the Subject, so that if any thing to the contrary hath happened or shall happen, during his Reign, it must and ought to be charged to the Account of such Apostate Whiggs, and Temporizing Tories, as the Objection represents to us.

There's another thing, in which the contending Parties seem to Unite, and that is in resenting the Affront put upon His Majesty and the Nation, by the French King's owning the pretetended Prince of *Wales* as King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and in maintaining the Succession as Established by the late Act. This is a main Point, which the Nation so cordially falls in with, that if the Revolution Party be not deprived of all Judgment and Conduct, it puts them in a Capacity of rooting out Torism for ever.

It has been said already, that none but Tories, properly so called, will own, or are in Principle and Affection for that pretended Prince; and their Number, 'tis to be hop'd, is so small, that taking in their elder Brethren the Papists to their Assistance, they are not capable of giving us much trouble. Then as the *De facto* Men, who are and will be of this or that Side, according as 'tis uppermost; this Juncture affords us the best opportunity that can be of putting their principles to the Trial, and of keeping such of them out of all Offices in Church and State, as will not renounce that pretended Prince and his Heirs and Successors for ever.

There's the same Reason for this, that there was for the Oath of Supremacy and the Sacramental Test. The Design of both these was to prevent the Influence of any Foreign Head, or Jurisdiction upon this Kingdom, because 'twas known that the Papists have all of them a dependance upon the See of *Rome*. The Reason holds as strong in this Case, for that pretended Prince and his Well-wishers must depend upon the Assistance, and be govern'd by the Councils of the French King, which will bring *England* as much under the Subjection of *France*, as is now the *Spanish Netherlands*. For that pretended Prince, by his suppos'd Fathers dying Words, by his Education, and by his Interest, must be obliged to follow the Dictates of the French Court. Were our Sacramental Test chang'd into a Civil one of this Nature, 'twould secure the Nation against the secret Artifices of hidden Enemies, and let into our Assistance those who are known to be its Cordial Friends. Many such are now hindred from serving it, upon the Account of a far less difference than that which there must of necessity be, betwixt those who are real Friends to our present Constitution, and such as are for the pretended Prince of *Wales*.

'Tis well enough known that the Sacramental Test was Originally design'd against the Papists, and levell'd directly at their Head, the late King, when Duke of *York*, but by the Artifice of the Court, and the Intemperate Zeal of the Laudean Faction of the Church, was turn'd against the Dissenters. Tho' that was no strange thing then, yet 'tis really surprizing now, that under a Government founded on an *English Basis*, such a Badge of Servitude should be continued upon so numerous a Body of *English* Protestants. This makes them look like so many Aliens, or rather like People that are Enemies to their Country, and not fit to be trusted, or not able to serve it. 'Twere certainly the Interest of *England* to have this Badge of Division remov'd, that she may not be continually deprived of the Service of so many useful Subjects, that own no dependence upon any Foreign Head or Church, and by Consequence can have no other Interest but that of their Country. This would take off that Imputation from our Legislature, or Prostituting that Sacred Ordinance to a Lucrative and Secular End. If we allow'd our selves freedom of thought, we should quickly be convinced, that as it interferes with our Saviour's Prerogative of Governing his Church, to injoin any other Terms of Christian Communion, than what he himself hath

hath appointed in the Sacred Text; it does likewiſe interfere with God's Prerogative of Governing the World, to require any other than the Moral Qualifications, which he hath appointed for Men in Places of publick Truſt, *viz.* That they be Men of Ablility, fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs, the deviating from this Rule is the Bane of all Government. 'Tis our own fault that this hurtful and uſeleſs diſtinction is now continued: His Majeſty preſs'd the removal of it, and the Church, who promiſed, when in danger by the late King to come to a Temper, has no reaſon to oppoſe it; the Diſſenting Clergy have a great many other Fences to leap over, before they can come to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and one would think it's puniſhment enough, that the Diſſenting Laics are doubly Tax'd to the Clergy and poor, (for it's known that they muſt contribute to thoſe of the Church, and wholly maintain their own) tho' they be ſet upon an equal footing with others of the Laity, and made capable of places of Truſt and profit as well as they. Many of that party are generally blamed for promiſing to concur with the late King to take off the penal Laws; and they are charged with having Countenanc'd his diſpenſing power, when he deliver'd them, (who indeed were the only perſons that felt the ſmart of thoſe Laws) from proſecution upon that Account. This makes it evidently the Intereſt of *England*, to free that party from ſuch Temptations in time to come; for as all Men are Fleſh and Blood, it is found by Experience, that parties of all ſorts will fall in with thoſe Meaſures that free them from Oppreſſion, without conſidering whether they be ſtrictly warrented by Law. It's known that the Church of *England*'s Concurrence with the prince of *Orange* was againſt expreſs Statutes, and the celebrated Doctrine of paſſive Obedience: Then ſince all parties have own'd in their turns, that their own ſafety is to them the ſupream Law, and that there are few Men now-a-days ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the Obſervance of the Laws of their Country as *Socrates*, who would rather die, than ſeem to diſobey them by fleeing from puniſhment, tho' they were wreſted to his Deſtruction. It's the Intereſt of *England* rather to make the Diſſenters, who are ſo conſiderable a Body of Proteſtants, more eaſie, than to lay them under further reſtraints, as was attempted by ſome in the laſt Houſe of Commons. This oblig'd the firſt ſubordinate Magiſtrate of the Kingdom, who has behav'd himſelf ſo in his poſt, as to pleaſe the beſt and trueſt Sons of the Church, to ſay, That if that Act came to be paſs'd in his time, he would lay down his Office; but this muſt be ſubmitted to our Legiſlators.

There's nothing can be of greater Concern to this Nation, than to be effectually ſecur'd againſt the Claims of the pretender, his Heir and Succeſſors; for it is now undeniable, that the French King hath not only eſpous'd his Quarrels himſelf, but hath entail'd it upon his Son and Grandſons, and all the princes of the Blood, who promis'd in publick Councel to Engage in it; and have avow'dly own'd him as a prince of their own Blood, whom they will not abandon. Beſides, 'tis very well known that they have another String to their Bow, if this ſhould fail, which is the pretentions of his ſuppoſed Siſter; for whoſe Legitimacy they themſelves will become Vouchers, becauſe ſhe was born in their Country; and by Marrying her to one of their own princes, they have a very good claim to the Soveraignty over us; ſo that they don't much queſtion to have us annex'd to their Crown as a province, one way or other; or if they allow us the Title of a diſtinct Kingdom, they will take care that we ſhall be as little able to Controul their Crown, as are the *Normans* and *Britains* at this Day.

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The Case being thus, it is our Interest in the first place, to take prudent Measures at Home, for discovering who they are that the French Rely upon here, and what sort of Assurance they have given 'em for Supporting the Interest of that Pretender. This is so much the more necessary, because the *French* King has the Confidence to assert every where by His Ministers, that his owning the Prince of *Wales* as King of *Great-Britain*, &c. is no Infraction of the Treaty of *Reswick*. It's true indeed, that by the Fourth Article of that Treaty we seem to have no further Security against the Claims of that Supposititious Prince than during His Majesty's Life; but it does not follow from thencce that the setting up of his Title before his Majesty's Death is not a Breach of the Treaty, except the *French* King have some other Authority for it than is known to the World. It is our Concern to be at the bottom of his Reasons; and whatever they be, to secure our selves against them, except we have a Mind tamely to submit our Necks to the Yoke of Popery and Slavery.

In order to this it would seem necessary that we should have either such a Test as that before-mentioned, to secure us against the Pretender's secret Friends, or some other Expedient, such as the united Wisdom of the Nation shall think proper for that End. It's scarcely to be supposed that during the Nation's Resentments of the Affront put upon us in this matter by the *French* King, any of the Impostor's Friends will dare to venture on a publick Opposition to such a security; and therefore now is the time to press it.

If it be objected that we are sufficiently secur'd by the Act of Succession. We may readily answer, that if a Door be left open for the Impostor's Friends to worm themselves into the Administration at home, and by that Means to concert Measures with our common Enemy abroad, to bring the Pretender over with an armed Force, either before, or immediately after the King's Death, our Act of Succession won't signifie a Farthing; And that this may be practised, if due Preventions be not made use of, is plain beyond Contradiction. It's very much talked of, that some Persons of no small Figure could scarcely forbear, when the Duke of *Glocester* was alive, openly to speak in Commendation of the Pretender, in presence of those where common Prudence would have taught them to forbear it, and it has been as much discoursed, that very unbecoming Respects have been paid to him beyond Sea, by those that ought not to have done it. Whether these things be so or not, it's *England*'s Concern, that all who are entrusted with our Administration should be clear of Suspicion; and therefore 'twould seem but prudent, that none of those who were evil Counsellors in the late Reigns, or any ways concern'd in the Contrivance or Execution of the Arbitrary Designs that were then carried on, should be intrusted in the Management of publick Affairs, now, (except they have given satisfactory Proofs of their Repentance and Reformation) It may happen otherwise, that we shall be left in the Hands of those very Men that his Majesty came to deliver us from; and if that be the case, we may easily foresee that our Act of Succession can be no Manner of Security.

The Nation has Reason to insist upon this, and no Ground to doubt of His Majesty's Gracious Compliance with it; because in his Declaration from the *Hague*, when he was gloriously undertaking our Deliverance, he expresly declar'd against those evil Counsellors, *and promised to do all things which the Two Houses of Parliament shall find necessary for the Peace, Honour, and Safety of the Nation, so that there may be no more Danger of the Nation's falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Government.* And when by the visible Assistance of God he had happily accomplish'd that Work, the Lords and Commons, in their Declaration of Rights and Liberties did concur with His Majesty in his Charge against those evil Counsellors, *as having endeavoured to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.* So that if we should be in the Hands of such Administrators at the time of His Majesty's Death, 'twould be such an Indelible Evidence of our apostatizing and unsteady Temper, as no time will be able to vindicate us from.

Another thing that ſeems neceſſary for our Security, is a League for making our Act of Succeſſion effectual. The Neceſſity of this appears plain from the Conſideration of the Power of *France*, which eſpouſes the Cauſe of the Pretender. It will readily be granted, that if we be left to our ſelves, *France*, and our own Malecontents, may give us a great deal of Trouble; and therefore ſuch an Alliance would be very convenient. The Houſe of *Hanover* is not capable of doing much by it ſelf, becauſe it has no Naval Force, yet their Intereſt in the Empire to give *France* a Diverſion that way, and their Influence upon the Northern Crowns, and the States of *Holland*, may be of Uſe to us: The latter indeed are the only People capable of doing us the greateſt Service, becauſe of their Nearneſs and mighty Power both by Sea and Land. We have no Reaſon to doubt but His Majeſty's Influence, and their own Intereſt, will readily bring them into ſuch an Alliance. For the Reaſon which induc'd them to aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange* to reſcue us from Popery and Slavery, is as ſtrong, or ſtronger, in the preſent Caſe; and that Reaſon, as they then declar'd it to all the Foreign Miniſters reſiding at the *Hague*, was, *That if King James, being in a ſtrict Alliance with the French King, ſhould obtain an Arbitrary Power over his People, thoſe two Kings would then endeavour to ruin* Holland *as well as* England, *out of Intereſt of State, and Hatred to the Proteſtant Religion*,

In the next place, we ought not to neglect our Neighbours of *Scotland*. Their falling in with us as to the Succeſſion, ſhuts a Back-Door, that may otherwiſe open a Way to the Ruin of all the three Nations; Should our common Enemy be able to work upon the Reſentments of that Nation, for the Treatment they have complain'd of, as to *Darien*, and other Matters, and bring them into an Humour to accept the Pretender; and at the ſame time, ſhould he invade us in the *South*, whilſt they annoy us in the *North*, the Conſequences might be much worſe than we imagine. We have it in our Power to prevent all that is to be feared from thence, by doing them the Juſtice that is due to Fellow-Subjects, and ſuffering them to act ſo for themſelves, as they may rather be an Help than a Burden to us. It's well enough known with what Contempt that Nation has been treated in publick Aſſemblies by ſome perſons; but ſuch indeed as are diſtinguiſhed by nothing but what makes them ſtink in the Noſtrils of our own People at home; and therefore their Sentiments are not to be much regarded, with Relation to our Neighbours abroad. There are others that talk of bribing ſome few of them with Money; and that the Intereſt of thoſe that are ſo brib'd will eaſily bring over the reſt; but theſe Gentlemen don't conſider that *Louis* XIV. is too old a Practitioner in that Art to be outdone in it by new Upſtarts; and that Men of vendible Souls are always to be purchas'd by the higheſt Bidder. Beſides, as that Practice is diſhonourable, it is but very ſeldom that it proves effectual? for it's only a few Men, and not the whole Nation, that can be brib'd; and when ſuch Deſigns upon a People come once to be diſcovered, or are but violently ſuſpected, they are ſo far from appeaſing 'em, that they do but more and more enrage them, as was evident from the Proceedings in their laſt Seſſion of Parliament; which notwithſtanding all endeavours to keep them ſilent, as to *Darien*, did zealouſly aſſert their Title to that Colony, and did more towards recovering the ancient Liberty of their Country than any Parliament ſince the Reſtauration.

The only way then to obviate all Dangers from that ſide, is either to come to ſuch an Union with them as may make their Intereſt ours in all Reſpects; or to ſuffer them, without Moleſtation, to ſettle their Succeſſion as we have done ours, with ſuch Limitations as they ſhall think moſt conducible for ſecuring their Religion and Liberty.

By this means we infallibly oblige the whole Nation, which is a much better way to aſcertain their Friendſhip, than by engaging a Miniſtry of this or that Faction, who are in Favour to Day, and in Diſgrace to Morrow, according to the Humour that governs at Court.

It remains ſtill, that we ought to have a very great regard to *Ireland*; that unhappy Nation, hath oftner than once put this Kingdom to a great expence of Blood and Treaſure: The Cauſe was viſibly in the miſmanagement of the late Reigns, and the Influ-

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ence of their Inſtruments, ſince we have been bleſs'd with this. 'Twill be very unhappy for *England*, if that Country ſhould once more become the Seat of a Rebellion, and a Receptacle for *French* Troops. Thoſe of the North of that Kingdom, and elſewhere, who were ſo prodigal of their Lives and Fortunes to ſupport this Government, ſeem, by what unhappy management God knows, not to be ſo well ſatisfied with their Compenſation, as to give us any ground to expect that they will Act with the like Zeal, in Caſe of a new War there. 'Tis therefore highly Incumbent upon this Nation, to endeavour to remove as much as poſſible all Cauſes of diſcontent from the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and ſeriouſly to endeavour the Converſion of the Papiſts there, tho' we ſhould be at the charge of a proper Miſſion for that End; but without any thing of Dragooning or Penal Laws; theſe are Methods fit for the *Pope* or *Mahomet*, but no way ſuited to the meek and lowly Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion. Much more might have been ſaid with reference to thoſe two Nations, would our deſign'd Brevity have allowed it. But thus much may be advanc'd in ſhort, That it would be the Advantage of *England*, to have both of 'em ſo link'd to us in Intereſt and Affection, that it might not be in the Power of Foreign or Domeſtick Potentates to make them Back-doors for an Invaſion, or Inſtruments of ſetting up an Arbitrary Government, as hath been ſeveral times attempted ſince the Reign of King *James* I.

We are no leſs concerned to take care of our *Weſt-India* Plantations, which are now in more danger than ever, having the Power of *France* and *Spain* United againſt them. It may be of fatal Conſequence, if any Mercenary Spirits, Tools of the late Reigns, or ſuch as are diſpleaſing to the People of thoſe parts, be entruſted with Eminent Poſts in the Government there. We ought to be particularly careful to ſupport 'em with a good Naval Force, and to uſe our Endeavours to extinguiſh all Heats and Diviſions among the Inhabitants, leſt the common Enemy improve it to the diſadvantage of *England*. There's one thing hath happened in thoſe parts lately, which would ſeem to have been ſet on Foot by the common Enemies of our Peace, to divide us; and that is, that ſeveral *Scotch* Gentlemen, Clergymen, and others of that Nation, have been Opprobriouſly treated, and turned out of their Poſts, and all of that Country declared uncapable of bearing any Office in thoſe Plantations; tho' they aſſiſted with as much Zeal as any other of the Inhabitants, in the Defence of the ſaid Countries againſt the *French* during the laſt War; this is ſo much the more obſervable, that thoſe Proceedings thwart a late Determination of His Majeſty and the Privy Council to the contrary, and are directly againſt that which hath been look'd upon as a rul'd Caſe, ever ſince the famous Debate about the *Poſt nati*, in the Reign of King *James* I.—This deſerves a more ſpeedy Application, leſt it ſhould add to thoſe grounds of diſcontent, which our Neighbours of *Scotland* are of late become ſo full of, and perhaps may loſe us the Aſſiſtance of our Friends, when we have moſt need of them.

The next, and indeed the main thing to be done for our ſecurity, is to bring *France* to ſuch a Condition, that ſhe ſhall not be able either to Impoſe that Pretender upon us, or to Support or Incourage any of our future Princes in their Arbitrary Deſigns againſt us, as ſhe did *Charles* II. and *James* II.

There's no proſpect of doing this without a War, and ſuch an one too, as muſt be proſecuted with Vigour.

Here I find my ſelf encountred at firſt ſetting out, by a late Pamphlet, Entituled, *Reaſons againſt a War with* France: *Or, An Argument ſhewing that the* French *King's owning the Prince of* Wales, *as King of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *is no ſufficient Ground for a War.*

The Author is at ſome Pains to perſwade the World that he is no Jacobite; nor ſhall I endeavour to fix that reproach upon him; it is no way material to the Subject in Hand; but his Argument looks much like it at firſt View, eſpecially conſidering that it is the Topick of all our Jacobites; and that the firſt time he mentions his Prince of *Wales*, which is in his Title Page, he does it without the Epithet of *Suppoſititious or Pretended*,

which

which all but those of his Party have constantly branded him with. I must however do our Author this Justice, as to say, that in other places he Argues too much like an Englishman, to be in the Pretender's Interest; and therefore this, and other things of that Nature, I shall look upon to be meer Oversights.

The only thing that I think my self oblig'd to confute in our Author, is, *That the* French *King's owning the Prince of* Wales, *as King of* England, *&c. is no sufficient ground of a War; and that his doing so is not directly contrary to the Stipulations of the Treaty of* Reswick.

To begin with the latter, our Author equivocates upon the Word *directly*, which might do well enough among Boys of the lower Forms at Schools, but can never take among Men of Reason. There's no direct Provision in that Treaty, that the *French* King shall not Invade *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, &c. But it is fully included in the Second Article, under the general Terms of Kingdoms, Territories, Dominions, and places; and therefore if he should Invade any place belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, tho' not directly mentioned in the Article, the World would conclude him to be guilty of a direct Breach of the Treaty.

The present Case is yet stronger against our Author, for by the fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reswick*, the *French* King is expresly bound up *from giving or affording any Assistance Directly or* **Indirectly**, *to any Enemy or Enemies* of the said King of *Great Britain*, so that his Cavil upon the Word *Directly*, can do the *French* King no manner of Service. ——Our Author's Explanation of the Word *Assistance*, *that it means nothing but Arms*, *Ammunition*, *Ships*, *Provisions or Money*, is likewise contrary to the plain Letter of the Treaty; which after having enumerated those Methods of Assistance that our Author takes notice of, adds in the very next Words, **Or in any other Way**; but this he thinks fit to pass over in his Argument, tho' he repeats those very Words in his Quotation of the Article, *p.* 6. There is yet another Clause in the Fourth Article not taken notice of by our Author, which bears hard upon the *French* King's owning that Pretender, *viz.* That he will in no **Manner whatsoever** *favour the Conspiracies or Plots*, *which any Rebells or Ill-disposed Persons may* **in any Place** *Excite or Contrive against the said King*, And that he will not Assist with Arms, *&c.* or **any other Way**, any person or persons, who shall hereafter under **any Pretence whatsoever**, *Disturb or Molest the said King of* Great Britain, in the free and full possession of his Kingdom, *&c.*

Now if we can but prove, that the *French* King's owning the pretended Prince of *Wales* is in *any way an Assistance* to the Enemy or Enemies of the King of *Great Britain*, or that it is *in any manner a favouring of Conspiracies or Plots*, which Rebels or ill-disposed persons may *in any Place* Excite or Contrive against the said King, then our Author must agree, that it is a Breach of the Treaty, and by Consequence a good Cause of War.

To prove that 'tis *in some way an Assistance*, we have the Joint Testimony of the Jacobites on both sides the Sea. When the *French* King came to pay this Pretender a Visit, and expressed himself thus, *Voila un Prince que J' ay toujours cheri, & un Roy que J' aimeray a Jamais*; i. e. There's a Prince whom I have always cherished, and a King that I shall always love; and speaking at the same time to the Court of St *Germains*, said, *Messieurs viola votre Roy*; i.e. Gentlemen, there's your King. This was look'd upon by our Jacobites in *France* to be such an effectual and considerable Assistance, that it immediately converted their Tears and Sighs for the loss of the late King into Transports of Joy, that his most Christian Majesty had own'd their new King. As a further proof of what I say, there was published here some time ago by our Jacobites an account, by way of Letter, of the late King *James*'s Sickness and Death, and of his Behaviour on his Death-Bed. This Letter informs us, That the Matter of owning the Pretender as King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, was debated publickly in Council, and that most of the Privy-Counsellors were for delaying it; upon which the Dauphin rose up in Heat, and with a great deal of Warmth pressed the owning of him; alledging that they could do

no

no leſs, he being a Prince of their own Blood, &c. and to this the *French* King, and all the other Princes of the Blood, agreed. By all which it appears, That the owning of the Pretender was not a meer Complement, or the giving him *an empty Title to pleaſe him, as our Author words it*, p. 7. but a thing concerted with Deliberation, and in view of its being reſented by the King of *Great Britain* and his Subjects, why elſe ſhould the *French* King's Privy-Council have been for delaying it? To this we may add, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Return to the Pretender's Complement, when he congratulated his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, viz. *That he hoped e're long to have an Opportunity to congratulate him upon the like Occaſion; and told him, That in that Caſe he might depend upon his Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance.* It is ſelf evident, That this Anſwer was put into the Mouth of the Youngſter, and was juſtly look'd upon by ſome then to be a prognoſtic of what hath ſince come ro paſs. We have heard what were the Sentiments of our Jacobites in *France* of all this; and no Man can be ſo much a Stranger to the Converſation of that party in *England*, as not to know that how Creſt-faln ſoever they appeared before, this gave their Looks a new Air, and fill'd them with freſh Hopes, which ſwell'd them ſo big, that they could not contain themſelves; they expreſſed their Confidence with ſo much *Imprudence*, (to give it no worſe Name) on all Occaſions, that no other Government but this would have ſuffer'd 'em to paſs unpuniſh'd. Thus it appears, That we have the Teſtimony of both our *French* and *Engliſh* Jacobites, that the *French* King's owning their pretended Prince, is in *ſome way an Aſſiſtance.*

In the next place it is plain, That ſince the *French* King hath own'd the Juſtice of his Title, there's nothing elſe by the Fourth Article of the Treaty of *Reſwick* that ſtands in the way of his endeavouring to put him in poſſeſſion; but King *William*'s Life, which is one of the *greateſt Excitemenes that can be for our Jacobite Aſſaſſins to go on to form Plots* againſt His Majeſty's Life, as they have already attempted ottner than once; by which it appears that the *French* King's owning that Pretender, is a direct Breach of the Treaty; and if we may be allow'd to ſay ſo, His Majeſty's agreeing to the Treaty of *Reſwick* to ſave the Blood and Treaſure of his Subjects without a further Security for his own Life, was an unaccountable piece of Condeſcenſion; had the Conſent of his People been formally requir'd to it, they could not without a Crime have acquieſc'd in a Treaty for their own preſent Eaſe, which did ſo much expoſe His Majeſty's Life, and the peace of poſterity; it is therefore to be hop'd, That whenever Affairs are again brought to be determin'd by a Treaty, there will be more Care taken in this Matter.

But further, the *French* King's owning the Pretender is contrary to the firſt Article of the Treaty of *Reſwick*, which provides, " That there ſhall be a perpetual Peace, and " a true and ſincere Friendſhip between the two Kings, their Heirs and Succeſſors, and " between rhe Kingdoms, States and Subjects of both; and the ſame be ſo ſincerely " and inviolably obſerv'd and kept, that the one ſhall promote the Intereſt, Honour and " Advantage of the other, that on both ſides a faithful Neighbourhood, and true Ob- " ſervation of Peace and Friendſhip may dayly flouriſh and increaſe.

There is not one Clauſe or Sentence of this Article that the *French* King's owning the Pretender does not violate. Is that the Way to preſerve peace and true friendſhip with his Majeſty and his Succeſſors, to countenance one to uſurp his Title during his own Life, and to exclude the Proteſtant Succeſſors, which upon his Majeſty's Recommendation, the Nation hath agreed to in Parliament. Surely the *French* King can never have the Confidence ſo much as to alledge, That either the King or the People agreed to have that Pretender to be his Succeſſor; and without the Conſent of both, 'tis impoſſible to clear him from the Guilt of breaking this Article, by owning that Impoſtor. Is it poſſible that this can be the Way to maintain Peace and Friendſhip betwixt *France* and *England*, for *Lewis* XIV. not only to own that Pretender himſelf, but to engage all his own Sons, and the other Princes of the Blood, to eſpouſe his Quarrel as our King, when he knows that this Nation does generally look upon that Perſon as Suppoſitious; that they de- thron'd his ſuppoſed Father, becauſe of his being in the Intereſt of *France*, and engag'd

in a Design to overturn our Religion and Liberties; and that they must needs have an utter Abhorrence of the Pretender, were he his real Son, because educated in the Maxims and Religion of *France*, which are inconsistent with those of *England*; and in the last place, when he knew that the Kingdom of *England* had settled the Succession otherwise. Can any Man of Sense imagin that this is the Way to promote the Honour, Interest and Advantage of *England*, or to occasion the Flourishing and Encrease of Friendship, as he is obliged to by the first Article of the Treaty.

His Breach of the Treaty in this Manner is so much the more unreasonable, because 'tis strongly presum'd, That he was let into the Secret of the Counterfeit Pregnancy. Mr. *J. W——r* looks upon himself to have been the first Projector of putting the late King upon that and the other Methods, which accelerated the happy Abdication that did his Country so much Service.

We might otherwise have still been languishing under a Consumption in our Vitals, whereas this Project brought it to an acute Disease, which by the Strength of the *English* Constitution and Genius we happily overcame. *W——r* is positive in this, and keeps by him the original Draught, which we communicated to the late Sir *J. Guise*, and he imparted it to a great Man, who hath been blamed by some, and commanded by others, for putting the late King upon the Practice of the Scheme, that was originally Mr. *W——r*'s, tho' others have reap'd the Advantage of it, as is usual in all such Cases.

I suppose by this time it is evident enough, That the *French* King's owning the Pretender as King of *England*, is a Breach of the Treaty of *Reswick*; not only *according to the Letter, but according to the Spirit*, as *Lewis* XIV. hath of late taught the World to distinguish; and with this Opinion the Nation unanimously falls in, as appears by their Addresses, and think it a very good Cause of War.

And indeed, had there been no such Treaty to obviate the *French* King's Insolence in that Matter, his doing it in Opposition to the Authority of the King and Parliament of *England*, were Cause enough for a War. Who constituted him Arbiter and Judge of our Succession, or gave him power to take upon him to determine that a Person whom our present King, and the Bulk of the Nation, have branded as an Impostor, is really legitimate? Who impowered him to offer at imposing a King upon us, who, tho' there were no question at his Birth, is excluded by Act of Parliament, by reason of his Moral Incapacity, as being a Nursling of Tyranny and Popery? Can any Man, who has a drop of *English* Blood in his Veins, bear with the Insolence of this haughty *Nimrod*; Shall he, whose own Legitimacy was question'd by the first Princes of the Blood of *France*, because of *Louis* XIII's known Frigidity, impose a spurious Prince upon the Kingdom of *England*? Does he not know that our Royal Line has a better Right to the Crown he wears than he has himself, tho' *Richlieu* and *M. le Grand* had never been taken in to assist *Louis* XIII. *in Omnibus suis Negotiis*, as the Cardinal worded it himself? Certainly such an Affront as this upon the *English* Nation, and not only personal upon the King, as our Author seems to insinuate, Page 5. ought to raise their Courage and Resentments to the same Pitch with that of their Ancestors; who chastis'd the Insolence of the *French* in the Battels of *Agencourt* and *Vernevil*, &c. Nothing less than the Revenge of *Tomyris*, when she cut off *Cyrus* his Head, and threw it into a Vessel full of Blood, *bidding him take now a full Draught of that which he had always thirsted after*, can be a just Satisfaction to the People of *England*. *Louis* hath by this practice arraigned the Soveraignty of our Nation, as if we had not a Right to settle our own Succession according as we judge it may best secure our Religion and Liberties. It's therefore our Interest to make a War upon him in such an effectual Manner, as to render him and his Successors uncapable of hectoring us and the rest of *Europe* for the future.

It's in vain to alledge, that we may be secured by Treaties without a War, or the *French* King's surrendring all that he hath usurp'd in the Name of his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou*. We find that Treaties now-a-days are nothing but Snares and Amusements to gain time, and that *Louis* XIV. hath made it his constant Practice to impose upon his

Neighbours

Neighbours by Treaties, and to render them ſecure, that he might rob them of their Dominions, under the Covert of ſome fraudulent Quibble or other upon thoſe Treaties. This is evident from the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, to this very Day. Beſides, we find that he has infallible Methods to break all Alliances that are made againſt him. Thus he broke the Tripple Alliance made betwixt *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*, to ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms. In like manner he broke that of *Nimeguen*; nor is any Man ignorant that he found out Methods to break the late grand Alliance, and to bring the moſt conſiderable of its Members into the Treaty of Partition, which as alſo the Treaty of *Reſwick* he hath broke in a moſt groſs and ſcandalous Manner. From all which 'tis evident that there's no way to ſecure our ſelves againſt his Attempts, but by reducing him to ſuch a Condition as he ſhall not be able to annoy us.

The Matter being thus, the next thing to be conſidered is, how a War muſt be manag'd, ſo as to be carried on with a Probability of ſpeedy Succeſs. In order to this 'twould ſeem neceſſary in the firſt place, that the Command of our Fleets and Armies ſhould be put into the Hands of ſuch Men as are known to be intirely in the Intereſt of the Government; not meerly becauſe of the profitable Poſts that they enjoy under it, but becauſe of the principles upon which 'tis founded. 2. That they be ſuch as have an Intereſt in the Nation, and in the Affections of the People; this will in great Meaſure ſecure them from thoſe Suſpicions, that Men of low or deſperate Fortunes, or who were the Inſtruments of Oppreſſion, or Tools in the former Reigns, will always be liable to. 3. That the Soldiers and Seamen be duly paid, und kindly treated. This will make their Families and Relations eaſie at home, and encourage themſelves to venture their Lives with Chearfulneſs abroad. The People will bear their Taxes without grumbling, when they find the Money levied for their Defence, faithfully applied to that, and no other end; 'twill prevent the Clamours that have been rais'd and publiſh'd againſt moſt of our publick Offices, and take away that Handle which ſome ill Men did of late improve to a very dangerous height againſt the Adminiſtration. 4. That all thoſe who are entruſted as Lords of the Admiralty, Commiſſioners of the Navy, Commiſſioners for the Sick and Wounded, Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office, Prize-Office, *&c.* be Perſons of known and ſufficient Abilities for the Diſcharge of their reſpective Truſts; that they be Men of undoubted Loyalty to the Government, and firm to the Intereſt of their Country; ſuch as have been more remarkable for their Sufferings, or Oppoſition to the ill Adminiſtration of the late Reigns, than for their fawning upon the Government in this. That ſuch as are advanc'd to theſe important Poſts take care to imploy none in the ſubordinate Charges under them, but Men of Integrity; that will not oppreſs or defraud thoſe that have Occaſion to apply to them, and that the chief Commiſſioners make due Enquiry from time to time into the Adminiſtration of their inferiour Officers; that they may neither defraud the publick themſelves, or countenance it in others, as has been too frequently, and perhaps too juſtly, complain'd of hitherto. In order to this, 'twill be highly neceſſary that the chief Commiſſioners of theſe reſpective Offices be ready to encourage and protect all ſuch as ſhall diſcover any Fraud and Oppreſſion that properly belongs to their Cognizance; and that as they are not to ſuffer their ſubordinate Officers to be vexed by frivolous or unjuſt Accuſations on the one Hand, they ſhould take care that Proſecutors and Witneſſes be not baffled, oppreſs'd and diſcourag'd on the other. Proceedings of this Nature have been complain'd of in the Caſe of ſeveral People that were formerly ruin'd for diſcovering Embezzlements in His Majeſty's Naval Stores, *&c.* And if the like practices be ſtill continued, it muſt of Neceſſity be ruinous to the Nation. 'Twas one of the greateſt Temporal Bleſſings that ever God Almighty promis'd to his People, *to make their Officers Peace, and their Exacters Righteouſneſs.* And when he leaves a Nation ſo far to themſelves, as to ſuffer the contrary practice, 'tis an infallible Sign of approaching Ruin.

The beſt Method to prevent ſuch Dangers would ſeem to be, that the Repreſentatives of the Nation ſhould be conſulted in ſuch a dangerous Juncture as this; what Perſons are

fit

fit to be imployed in the places of greateſt Power and Truſt. 'Twas never reckon'd any Diminution to the Prerogative of the *Engliſh* Crown for our Princes to ask and take the Advice of the Privy-Council in the Diſpoſal of ſuch Offices; much leſs ought it to be accounted ſuch, when they take the Advice of the great Council of the Nation. On the contrary, it muſt needs be a great Eaſe to the Throne, a ſure Way to prevent His Majeſty's being impos'd upon, and the beſt Defence againſt all thoſe Calumnies which the Enemies of the Government are ready to improve, for blackening the Adminiſtration; for in this Caſe, if the Parliament ſhould adviſe to ill Men, (as it is ſcarcely probable they will) the Crown would be blameleſs; and in caſe of real ill Management or falſe Accuſations, the puniſhing of the one, and the acquitting of the other, being ſubmitted to the Cognizance of the Parliament, 'twould remove all that Odium from the Throne, which generally attends ſuch Caſes.

So much for the Imployment and Treatment of the Men that muſt be imploy'd in, and about the Management of the War; of which, after all that can be ſaid, they are the chief and principal Sinew.

The next thing to be conſidered is the Management of the publick Money, which is the other great Sinew of War: In a mix'd Government, like ours, where the People have the ſole power of the Purſe, 'twould ſeem to thwart the very Nature of our Conſtitution, to exclude them from a ſhare in the management of it; and therefore His Majeſty hath always readily agreed to their appointing Commiſſioners to inſpect the publick Accounts; might it not then be proper in our preſent Circumſtances, when ſo great a noiſe has been made in the World, about Mens raiſing vaſt Eſtates to themſelves out of the publick Money, that the Parliament ſhould be conſulted in the Nomination and Appointment of thoſe that are to have the Charge of paying our Armies and Fleets. This would remove the Handle which ill Men take of defaming Governments, as advancing their Favourites and Servants to enrich themſelves with the Money that is given for the defence of the Country, whilſt Fleets and Armies remain unpaid; and on the other Hand, 'twould in a great meaſure allay thoſe Jealouſies, which People have been ſo ready to entertain, that an Army may at ſome time or other be imployed to bereave the Nation of its Liberties.

It is likewiſe highly neceſſary for bringing the War to a good and ſpeedy Iſſue, that our Councils and Adminiſtration be ſteady, that the Intereſt of all Parties ſhould truckle to that of the Nation, that thoſe who are in Chief Truſt about his Majeſty be ſuch as are moſt beloved and truſted by the Country, and have always been true to the Principles of the Revolution: Experience hath ſhew'd us, that the People of *England* will ever be Jealous and Uneaſie, when they ſee Men of Arbitrary Principles, that were noted for concurring with ſuch an Adminiſtration in the late Reigns, preferr'd to high Poſts in this. The wiſeſt of Kings hath laid this down as a never-failing Maxim, *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs.* *And he gives it as the Character of a wiſe King, *That he ſcatters the Wicked, and brings the Wheel over them; that his Favour is toward a wiſe Servant, but his Wrath againſt him that cauſeth Shame*, and for not following thoſe Sage Councils, but acting by the Advice of *Young Hotheaded Advancers of the Prerogative*, or in the Engliſh Dialect, *Huffing Tories*, his own Son, *Rehoboam*, loſt ten parts in Twelve of his Dominions. His Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed in his Proclamation of *Feb.* 24. 1697. againſt Prophaneſs and Immorality, to promiſe that he would particularlly puniſh it, *in ſuch who are imploy'd near his Royal Perſon*, and therefore we have Reaſon to believe that he will be careful to imploy ſuch Perſons about him, as may ſet the Nation a good Example by their Piety and good Morals, and not ſuch as may cauſe Shame; and that he will carefully avoid the Imployment of ſuch Perſons, when they are made known to him, as by their wicked Principles would overturn our Conſtitution, and turn a regular Monarchy into a lawleſs Tyranny. This is

* Prov. Cap. 25. 5. Cap. 20, 26. Cap. 14. 15.

is an Immorality of far greater Consequence than those common Disorders of Life, which make men odious to one another, but both of 'em are justly hateful. The Observation of these Rules is the more Incumbent upon our present Court, because the neglect of them by former Courts has been visibly punish'd by the Hand of God, who literally fulfilled upon them that which he threatned against the *Israelites* and their King, if they acted contrary to his Laws, *viz. That they should be brought to a Nation, which neither they nor their Fathers had known, where they should serve Gods of Wood and Stone.* * This was so exactly accomplish'd in the persons of our two late Kings, and many of their Followers, that every man who does not wilfully shut his Eyes against the Evidence of Truth, must observe it; and by the account we had of the late King's Sickness and Death, in a Letter Printed and published here by his own Friends, the reading of these Words in his Chappel. *Remember, O Lord, what is to come upon us: Consider and behold our Reproach. Our Inheritance is turned to Strangers, our Houses to Aliens,* † sunk his Spirits so much, that he never recovered it; then since it is evident, that his employing and listning to such Servants, as advis'd him to overturn our Constitution, was the immediate Cause of his Reproach and Disgrace; it ought to serve as a Beacon to all our future Rulers, to beware of those dangerous Shelves. To this we may add, that as the Imployment of such persons increases Fears among the people at Home, it makes us seem little to our Allies Abroad. This was the Reason, that in the late Reigns we were branded by Foreigners with such a Fluctuation and Unsteadiness of Councils, as we could not be depended on for two Years together; and therefore if the same sort of persons be imployed, or the same measures pursued; it naturally follows, that they will still have the same opinion of us. The Consequence of which must be, that they will make the best Terms they can with the *French Nimrod*, and this will bring all *Europe* under his Chains.

In the next place, it is incumbent upon all such as are or shall be taken into the Administration, to shun those Faults, with which the new and old Ministry do charge one another.

'Twill be a very good Improvement of our late extravagant Heats, if our Ministers of State, *Privy*-Counsellors, and other Courtiers, be thereby taught to avoid such Errors and Faults. Those that are plac'd in high and eminent Stations, ought to have more than an ordinary share of Virtue; for we see that small Faults, or perhaps Suspicion without any Fault at all, is apt to be magnified against such, into Grimes of the highest Nature. From all which it is evident, that Ministers of State, and *Privy* Counsellors in *England*, ought not only to be so honest, as not to concur with those that give ill advice to their *Prince*, but likewise to have so much Fortitude and Self-denial, as to quit any post whatever in the *Prince's* Service, rather than be oblig'd to concur in any thing that may be to the dishonour and disadvantage of the Crown or Country. It's a known Maxim, *That the King of* England *can do no wrong*, and it perfectly agrees with the Definition of a King, that we have in the sacred Text. St. *Paul* tells us positively, that *Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but to the Evil, and that they are Ministers of God for Good*, &c. †† From which it naturally follows, that Ministers of State, and others, are under no Obligation to put the unjust Commands of *Princes* in Execution; for the Nature of the Government, with which they are entrusted; gives them no power to Command any such thing; and if there were none to put them in Execution, there would be no occasion for passive Obedience, as taught in the late Reigns; for it's absurd to imagine that *Princes* could in their own persons be Judges, Juries, and Executioners; from whence it is evident, that that unreasonable Doctrine and Tyranny, do mutually bring forth one another, and become Mother and Daughter by turns, as the old Riddle says of Ice and Water. 'Twere to be wish'd that all Courtiers, and particularly those of *England*, would consider this; there can be no better way for the latter, to vindicate themselves from that Reproach which some Forreign Authors take the liberty to charge them with.

* Deut. 28. 6. † Lam. 5. 1. 2. †† Rom. 14.

What Engliſhman can, (without having all the Blood in his Veins ready to boil over) read what *John de Witt* ſays of Engliſh Courtiers, in his Book *of the fundamental Maxims and Politicks of* Holland, *viz. That they are the moſt laviſh and thieviſh of any Courtiers in the World*; and ſpeaking of the late King *Charles* II. he ſays, *That he conſum'd all the ſtrength of the Iſland upon his Luxry and Favourites.* * What he means by our Courtiers being Thieviſh, is, *That during a War by Sea or Land, they do ſo miſapply and waſte the Publick Money, that it always falls ſhort.* As there's no Engliſhman that can read this unworthy Reflection without being ſenſibly touch'd, it's certainly the Duty of our Engliſh Courtiers to behave themſelves ſo, as his Country-men that are here may ſee his Reflection falſified; and it ought to make our *Dutch* Courtiers particularly Cautious, that there be nothing in their practice which may confirm their Country man's maxim, or bring it in Judgment againſt them.

The next thing required towards a ſpeedy and happy Iſſue of the War, is that the approaching Parliament be Unanimous, Vigorous, and Speedy in their Reſolves. The Nation being diſſatisfied in general, that the late Houſe of Commons was obſtructed in their vigorous proceedings againſt *France*, by thoſe well known and unhappy Debates which fell in among them; His Majeſty out of His Fatherly Care hath prudently diſſolved that Parliament; it is certainly the readieſt and moſt natural way to end a Quarrel to ſeparate the contending Parties, which was highly neceſſary at a time when we are all in hazard of being ſwallowed up by the Common Enemy. Then ſince the King hath graciouſly done his part, it's now incumbent upon the Nation to act theirs, in chuſing ſuch Men as will readily concur in what they would have had the late Houſe of Commons do. If the Nation take due Care in this Matter, it will be truly unaccountable if we ſhould have the misfortune of a Parliameet that will neglect the Safety of the Kingdom, and indeed of all *Europe*, in this extream danger, to purſue private Piques and party Quarrels; 'it 'hath been urged in Pamphlets and Diſcourſes, that tho' the Lords, againſt whom Arti'cles have been Exhibited, be as guilty as their Enemies would have them to ſeem, yet 'the Treaty of Partition being now out of Doors, and their Acceſſion to it, for ought 'that yet appears, no more than hearing of it, and adviſing againſt it, (except it be that 'the Lord *Sommers* put the great Seal to it, *&c.* by His Majeſties Command) it would 'ſeem to be the Intereſt of *England* at this time, that a general Act of Indemnity ſhould 'rather be urg'd to unite us againſt the Common Enemy, than to give any occaſion for 'further Diviſions, by Endeavours to make great Men Criminals for ſuch things as they 'either adviſ'd againſt, or can offer to defend by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, 'and eſpecially when thoſe at the bottom of the Proſecution are ſo viſibly partial, as to 'ſuffer others, who are more concerned in thoſe Matters, to eſcape without being 'touch'd.

When we are ſtrugling againſt the greateſt Foreign Tyrant that ever aſſum'd the Chriſtian Name, it will be a terrible misfortune to be depriv'd of the Aſſiſtance and Direction of the Parliament, by reaſon of Debates betwixt the two Houſes, and Party Quarrels in each Houſe: At the ſame time, there's no doubt but ſome People will take it as a Handle to Libel and Calumniate one or both, as has been done in ſome late Pamphlets, which take the Liberty to ſay, 'That the *People* were not allowed to repreſent 'their Grievances and apparent Dangers to thoſe whom they impower'd to take care of 'having them redreſs'd and prevented; and that if ſuch a part of our Conſtitution, as 'has always been look'd upon to be the ſtrongeſt Barrier againſt the Arbitrary Power of 'our Princes, ſhould become ſo Arbitrary themſelves, as to Impriſon the Subject for 'humbly Petitioning, to commit Men without unqueſtionable Authority, without a 'previous Examination, and without any proſpect of their being ſet at Liberty by due 'Courſe of Law; and in a Word, to be ſo Arbitrary in their proceedings, as to think 'themſelves no ways accountable to the People that depute them. If this be our Caſe,

* Aanwyſing der heilſame politike Gronden & Maximen van de Republike van *Holland*. p. 297. &c. 'it'

' it's in vain for us to ſtruggle againſt a Forreign Tyranny, when we are oppreſs'd by ' one that's Domeſtick.

' But if to all this there be added this unhappy Circumſtance, that the Perſons accus'd ' are known to be intirely in the Intereſt of the Government, and that the principal Fo- ' menters of thoſe Diviſions, are ſuſpected to be in the Intereſt of our common Enemy, or ' ſuch as have refus'd to give that voluntary Teſtimony of their Affection to the preſent ' Government; that moſt of the Subjects have cheerfully done, or ſuch as have former- ' ly lain under the juſt Odium of the Nation, for miſapplying the publick Money, and ' having been Abetters of Arbitrary Courſes; and that thoſe very Men and their Ad- ' herents are poſſeſs'd of part of the Admiſtration, and eagerly purſuing after the whole, ' then indeed our Caſe ſeems to be next door to what we call deſperate.

It is too well known that ſeveral *Pamphlets*, in Words to that or the like Effect, alledge all theſe things juſt now mentioned, to have been our late Circumſtances; and therefore 'twill be our own Fault if they have again the like Opportunity. 'Twas the Apoſtle's Command, *to mark them that cauſe Diviſions in the Church*; and all civiliz'd Nations are as much oblig'd to mark and avoid thoſe that occaſion Diviſions in the State.

At ſuch a Juncture as this, when the Sovereignty of the Nation is called in queſtion, and our Rights of ſettling our Succeſſion diſputed by the *French* King, who is ready to ſwallow up all *Europe*, it would conſummate our Misfortunes to have the two Houſes of Parliament engaged in ſuch a Controverſie about their Rights and *Priviledges* as cannot be accommodated, or let fall, without riſking the Honour of the Houſes, or a new Diſſolution. In that Caſe the Nation would be in danger of an Inteſtine War, to ſettle her own Conſtitution, inſtead of carrying on a Forreign War againſt the common Enemy. Might it not then be proper for us in ſuch Circumſtances to follow the Example of King *David*; who being a Man according to God's own Heart, muſt needs have been habitually a good Juſticiary; and yet we find that when the Publick was in danger, he deferred the Execution of Juſtice upon very great Criminals, till a more proper Seaſon, as in the Caſe of *Joab* and others. Certainly the Argument is much ſtronger, when the Perſons accuſed offer to defend themſelves, by poſitively denying one part of the Charge, and by juſtifying the other part by the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country. If ſuch a Proſecution ſhould be rais'd in a City, when in danger of being attack'd by a common Enemy, it's no hard Matter to conjecture what the Thoughts of the Citizens would be of thoſe that foment ſuch an untimely Proſecution, or if ſome Soldiers and Officers; nay, if a whole Army, who perhaps have Cauſe enough to complain of ſome of their chief Leaders, ſhould move to have them call'd to an Account juſt when an Enemy is marching upon them, has made himſelf Maſter of their Out-*Poſts*, and beat in their Advanced Guards, it is well enough known what a Council of War would determine concerning ſuch Officers, and what Opinion the Country would have of ſuch an Army.

What we are next to conſider, is the Way of managing the War. 'Twould ſeem to fall naturally to our Share to act moſt of our part by Sea. As this will be leaſt chargeable to the Nation, ſo by this Means we are like to do the Enemy moſt Damage both in *Europe* and *America*, and to receive moſt Advantage to our ſelves, eſpecially conſidering that by the Sixth Article of our Treaty with the Emperor, the *Dutch* and we are impowered to keep to our ſelves what we conquer in the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Dutch* to be ſure will make their Improvement of this Article if we don't; and therefore it ſeems naturally to be our Intereſt, to be at leaſt as ſtrong by Sea in the *Weſt-Indies* as they; our Concern in thoſe parts is certainly much greater than theirs, and therefore our Care of them ought to be nothing leſs. In the mean time I cannot but take notice by the way, that as this Article is an infallible Evidence of His Majeſties Care and Kindneſs to his people, it alſo correſponds with the Advice given His Majeſty, when about the Treaty of Partition, by the Lord *Sommers*, and yet nothing leſs than the Ruin of that Peer would ſatisfie ſome fiery and ambitious Spirits, who have been ready at all times to ſacrifice the

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Intereſt of the Nation to their own Revenge, Covetouſneſs and Ambition. It's evident that that noble Lord in his Letter of *Aug.* 28. 1698. to the King concerning that Treaty, adviſ'd His Majeſty, *That if the Elector of* Bavaria, *who was to be the Gainer by His Majeſties Interpoſition in that Affair, ſhould come to an Agreement, to let the Engliſh into ſome Trade to the Spaniſh Plantations, or in any other Manner, it would wonderfully indear His Majeſty to the Engliſh Subjects.* * Then certainly the obtaining of ſuch a Conceſſion as this, cannot fail of indearing His Majeſty to us much more.

But to return to onr purpoſe; as our acting vigorouſly in the *Weſt-Indies* affords us a proſpect of moſt Advantage to our ſelves, it gives us likewiſe an Opportunity of annoying the Enemy in the moſt ſenſible part. The *French* King wants the Aſſiſtance of the Treaſures of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, more than the Forces of the Dominions of *Spain* in *Europe*, to arrive at his Idol of Univerſal Monarchy. By preventing his having the *Weſt-India* Bullion and Mines, we cut off the Sinews of his War, and ſhall quickly oblige him to drop his Sword. That we may eaſily do this, can ſcarcely be denied; we have ſtrong Colonies in the *Weſt-Indies* already, and with what we ſend in our Ships from *England*, may ſoon have Men enough from our Northern and Southern Plantations, to make our ſelves Maſters of ſuch Poſts in the Spaniſh *Weſt-Indies*, as will ſecure us in the Command of that Country. By this Means we ſhall be freed from our Dependance upon the *Spaniards*, as to our Trade for Slaves and Bullion; and by Conſequence, not only enabled to carry on our *Eaſt-India* Trade without exporting our own Coin, but likewiſe by the Conveniency of the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*, have an Opportunity of humbling *France* yet further, by cutting off her *Eaſt-India* Trade, or making it very inſignificant. This may eaſily be done, for we have ſuch Conveniency of ſending Men from our *American* Colonies ſo ſpeedily, and in ſuch Numbers over that *Iſthmus*, as may ſoon deſtroy their Factories in the *Eaſt-Indies*; and beſides, by having a Harbour on the South, and another on the North of *Darien*, we ſhall ſo much ſhorten our *Eaſt-India* Voyages, and ſo much leſſen the Expence of 'em, that we ſhall quickly outdo all other Nations that would rival us in that Trade.

To this 'tis objected, that it may imbroil us with the *Dutch* and the *Scots*; but the Anſwer is eaſie; 'twill not be hard to compromize Matters with theſe two Nations. —The *Dutch* being by the Article equal Sharers in the Priviledge, there's no reaſon to deny them that due proportion of the Advantage which may any wiſe juſtly be accruing from it; and as to what each Nation is already poſſeſſed of in the *Eaſt-Indies*, their reſpective properties may be ſecur'd by Treaty. For what relates to the *Scots*, they muſt be ſuppos'd to included in the Treaty, as Subjects to the King of *Great Britain*, and the Juſtice of their Pretenſions to *Darien* being aſſerted by that Parliament; 'twould ſeem to be neceſſary that this Matter ſhould be adjuſted by a Deputation from both Kingdoms, wherein 'tis not to be doubted but the *Scots* will liſten to Reaſon; by this Means we have an Opportunity of doing them Juſtice, of coming in with them as Sharers of their Pretenſions, and of having an equivolent for admitting them into an Union with us, that they have ſo long deſired, and which by this Method may be cemented for ever. If this be the caſe, we may have a ſtrong Aſſiſtance of Men from that Kingdom, which will then become a part of our own; and all Diſputes about their falling in with a diſtinct Succeſſor are obviated for ever. But be that how it will, it's the undoubted Intereſt of *England* to take care that no other European Nation become Maſters of that Neck of Land, the Importance of which is now become ſo univerſally known by the Attempt of the *Scots* to fix themſelves there, that if we neglect it, there's no Queſtion to be made but ſome others will fall in with it, from whom we are not to expect ſuch good Neighbourhood or Advantageous Conditions. Beſides, by falling in with them, we keep the Title wholly in the Hands of *Great Britain*, and by that Means exclude all poſteriour Claims.

So much may ſuffice as to our attacking the *French* or the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*; for they muſt now be reckoned one and the ſame, till ſuch time as the *Spaniards* are enabled to deliver themſelves from the *French* Yoke. It

* *Proceedings in the Houſe of Peers*, Page 20. Col. 2.

It falls naturally under our conſideration in the next place, in what other parts we may attack the *French* to moſt Advantage. The *Netherlands*, of which they are now poſſeſs'd, is ſo ſtrong, that all we can propoſe to do on that ſide, is to keep on the Defenſive; for ſhould we attack them there, we muſt be obliged to diſpute every Foot of Ground. We cannot march two or three Leagues without having a Stop put in our way by a fortified Town; ſo that to Fight in that Country, were to run our Heads againſt a Brazen-Wall. If we attack them on the ſide of *Germany*, we ſhall be almoſt in as bad a Condition, for there they have form'd a ſtrong Barrier by *Luxemburgh*, *Mentz*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Straſsburg*, *New-Briſac*, &c. That we ſhall only throw away our Men and our Money.——The *Germans* and *Dutch* are both ſo ſenſible of this, that they are wholly taken up in preparing for Defence by Lines, Forts, Redoubts, and numerous Armies.

To attacque them by Land on the ſide of *Italy* is impracticable, becauſe the Dutchies of *Milan* and *Savoy*, and the Principality of *Piedmont* are at their Command. It remains therefore, that we muſt either attacque them on the ſide of the Channel, or on that of the Mediterranean. To attacque them from the Channel would to us ſeem the eaſieſt and cheapeſt Method, but their Coaſts are dangerous for our Shipping, and we have no footing in their Country to land an Army, as formerly we had; ſo that unleſs we could ſecure our ſelves of a place of Arms, and a Magazine, on their Coaſt, all that we can do on that ſide is to harraſs them, by making frequent Deſcents, and burning their Country. This would put them to a mighty charge, fatigue their Militia, interrupt their Commerce, hold *Paris*, the Seat of their Government, in a continual Allarm, and oblige them to keep part of their Naval Force in the Channel, which would weaken their Efforts by Sea in the Mediterranean, and the *Weſt-Indies*, and by land in the *Netherlands*, *Germany* and *Italy*.

From the Channel we may likewiſe attack the Coaſts of *Portugal* and *Spain*, which being now the Allies of *France*, 'tis almoſt the ſame thing as if we attacqued themſelves: for the *French* muſt be at the Charge of the Defence, otherwiſe thoſe Kingdoms being unable to bear it, muſt quickly abandon their Maritime Towns & Provinces to be plundered by us at Diſcretion, which would in a little time bring them to a Senſe of their true Intereſt, and oblige them to break off their Engagements with *France*.

The next thing to be conſidered is to attacque them in the Mediterranean; for our Attacques on this ſide of the *Streights* we might be furniſhed from our own Coaſts, and on all occaſions have recourſe to the Harbours of *England* and *Ireland*: and being once paſſed the *Streights*, the *Spaniſh* Coaſt lyes open and Defenceleſs enough; from thence we fall in upon the *French* Coaſt of *Languedoc* and *Provence*; which except at *Toulon* and *Marſeilles* is not capable of making much Reſiſtance; and if once we ride Admiral of thoſe Seas, the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Italy* revolt to the Emperor of Courſe, by which we ſecure our ſelves of Proviſions in that Country, cut off the *French*, *Turky* and *Barbary* Trade, protect our own Commerce to thoſe Countries, and give the Emperor an Opportunity of turning the main of his Force againſt the *French* upon the *Rhine*; ſo that finding themſelves beſet on all Hands, they muſt ſpeedily ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as the Emperor and his Allies would propoſe to them.

The principal Objection againſt this will be, that we have not Naval Force enough to carry on all theſe Attacques, conſidering that *France*, *Spain* and *Portugal*, have each of them their Fleets, and will join together to oppoſe us. To this it may be anſwered, that *England* and *Holland* are known to be the chief Maritime Powers of *Europe*; and therefore it's hard to imagine that Two ſuch wealthy and potent Nations cannot fit out Three ſtrong Squadrons; which if they do with ſufficient Proviſions, and under good command, the Naval Power of *France*, *Portugal* and *Spain*, is in no condition to make Head againſt us. Beſides, we muſt look upon the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* to be like Men that are preſs'd into the ſervice, and that by conſequence, will deſert as ſoon as ever they ſee a fit Opportunity. From all this it is undeniably evident, that the principal Efforts of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* muſt be by Sea; and it is a known and undoubted Maxim, that ſuch as are Maſters there, will ſoon be the like at Land.

To conclude this Point with an Obſervation or two. I remember to have heard, that General *Blake*, in the time of the Uſurper, being ſent to Sea with a limited Commiſſion, he either could or would do nothing againſt the Enemy; but afterwards, when he had a diſcretionary Commiſſion, he acted Wonders. Anſwerable to this I find to be one of *John de Wit*'s and *Van Aitzma*'s Obſervations; that during the War betwixt the *Dutch* and *Spain*, the Men of War that acted by the Stadtholders Commiſſion, did neither annoy the Enemy, nor protect their own Trade to any Purpoſe; but the Ships fitted out by the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and other private Hands, did both of 'em effectually; becauſe they were under no ſuch Limitations as thoſe belonging to the *States*. Beſides, they acted with no other View but the preſervation of their Trade, and humbling the Enemy; whereas they alledge, that the Stadtholder was more intent upon Spinning out the War to eſtabliſh his own Authority, than to bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion to the Advantage of the Country; and therefore the Commanders that were under his Influence acted but faintly. May it not then deſerve our Conſideration, whether 'twere not fit to give our Admirals a more ample and unlimited Power; and likewiſe to encourage our Merchants and others to fit out Men of War, as the *Dutch* Merchants did, to protect their Trade, and to act againſt the Enemy as occaſion offers? This would be one effectual way to prevent the betraying of Orders. For 'its ſcarcely poſſible to have any Cabinet ſo cloſely ſhut, but *French* Leuidores will find a Pick-lock to open it. If this be thought adviſable by the great Council of the Nation, we have no reaſon to doubt of His Majeſty's Concurrence; he hath graciouſly promis'd to agree to any thing that is needful to prevent our falling again under Arbitrary Power, and by the Peace of *Reſwick* gave a ſufficient Proof, that he prefers the ſaving of our Blood and Treaſure, to his perſonal Safety.

In order to make all theſe *Projects* effectual, Expedition and Diſpatch are principally requiſite. Our Experience may teach us *the Danger of Delay* for had we been in a poſture fit to have made a ſtand againſt the impetuous Torrent of *French* Uſurpation, *Spain* had not been forced to throw her ſelf as a *Prey* into the Arms of *France*, *Portugal* had not been forced to *enter into a League with both of them*; the Dutch had not been obliged *to quit their Footing in the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *and to evacuate the Gariſons there without receiving their Money*; nor had they *been put to a Neceſſity of drowning their Country, of raiſing ſuch a vaſt Army, or of owning the Duke of* Anjou *as King of* Spain, *&c. nor ſhould we in* England *have had the Diſhonour of being obliged to follow their Example in that Particular, nor have been put to the Troube and Expence of furniſhing them Land Forces and Men of War according to the Treaty of* 1677. *The* Venatians *had been under no Neceſſity of being ſo ſhy in favouring the Imperial Army in* Italy. *The* Neapolitans *might have carried on their Plot, without being ſuppreſſed and maſſacred. The Duke of* Mantua *had been under no Tentation to ſell his Country to* France. *The Electors of* Cologn *and* Bavaria *would have had no ſhadow of Pretext for betraying and abandoning the* Empire. Liege, Bonne, Keyſerſwart *and* Rhineberg *had not now been in the Hands of* France, *nor had* Louis XIVth's *Naval Force been ſuperiour to ours in the* Weſt-Indies.

If this Kingdom ſend ſuch *Repreſentatives* to *Parliament* as will make good the things that they have ſo frankly promiſed in their Addreſſes, we have no reaſon to doubt, but moſt of thoſe Clouds will diſappear which now obſcure our *Horizon*. The Zeal of the Nation will then be exerted in vigorous Efforts againſt the common Enemy, and not ſpent in Party Quarrels and inteſtine Broyls.

Nor will the good Effects of this be confin'd within the narrow Limits of this ſingle Iſland: Its Influences muſt ſpread univerſally over *Chriſtendom*. They will have a quick and immediate Effect upon the Councils and Proceedings of the Dutch, who when they find *England* in good Earneſt, will be incourag'd to act ſo too. This will ſoon extinguiſh or make of little uſe to the French, all the before-mentioned Differences in *Holland* and the Empire, our Influence will give ſuch a Weight to the other Scale as muſt add new Life and Vigour to the Emperor, and ſuch other Princes as eſpouſe his Cauſe. 'Twill revive

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the Courage of the *Austrian* Party in *Italy*, and make their Designs to shake off the *Bourbon* Yoke successful. Had we but a commanding Naval Force in the *Mediterranean*, 'twould certainly bring over *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to the Emperor, and most of the Princes and States of *Italy* would fall into his Interests, tho' we should do nothing else towards it, but visit their Ports, and buy Oyl and Wine. There's no Man can doubt of this that allows himself to consider, what just Cause of Jealousie all the *Italians* have of the Growth of the French Kings power, and how glad they would be to see him reduc'd. There's none that would more rejoyce at such a Mortification, than the Court, of *Rome*, the Republick of *Venice*, the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and Republick of *Genoa* they all of them dread his Neighbourhood by Land and his power by Sea, whereas they have not the same Reason to dread the House of *Austria* on that Account. 'Tis known that the Emperor has no Naval Force, that he is neither absolute nor Hereditary Sovereign of the Empire, that his own Dominions are not so large nor so well situated to invade *Italy* as those of *France*; nor is his Sway in his Hereditary Countries any thing so absolute as that of *Louis* XIV.

We have no reason to despair of Success in bringing down the Exorbitant Power of *France*, had we but Courage and Honesty to set about it effectually. Heaven hath declar'd for us in the beginning, and made the Emperor when in a manner abandoned by all Mankind, successful in *Italy* to a Wonder.

As it is certain that the *French* King hath a greater Force and Treasure at his Command than any other Prince, that ever yet attempted the Universal Monarchy, it is as certain that the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*, are Masters of a much greater Force and Treasure then any Princes and Potentates that ever yet Leagu'd together at one time to oppose it. What Prince do we read of in History that ever had such a Naval Force under his Command, as his Majesty King *William*, who has that of *England* and *Holland* at his Call, and by his Interest in the Northern Crowns may have more if it be needful? then what humane Reason can any Man alledge to make us despair of Success, with such a Power, under such a Command, and imploy'd in such a Cause. It will not be denied by any reasonable Man that has but a tollerable Acquaintance with Religion, and the publick Transactions of the World, that if we seek and rely upon the Divine Assistance with any Measure of Sincerity, our Quarrel will entitle us to the Blessing of Heaven as soon as 'twill our Enemies. Then humanely speaking, there's nothing can defeat us, but want of Courage, Wisdom and Honesty, and if the Design should miscarry in our Hands, whilst we are thus Circumstantiate; the Blame will be certainly charg'd upon the latter. We and the *Dutch* together under the Conduct of a Woman, brought down the House of *Austria* when they bid fair for the Universal Monarchy. Then what else but want of Honesty can hinder our doing the like against the House of *Bourbon*? We are certainly much richer than we were then. Our Fleet now exceeds what it was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time beyond all Comparison. Our *West-India* Plantations, which enable us if we have any good Conduct to make our selves Masters of the *French* and *Spanish* Treasure, are infinitely Stronger and Richer then in her time. We have *Scotland* united, *Ireland* in Peace, and entirely Subjected, neither of which were so at that Juncture, and as to the *Dutch*, 'tis known they were then indeed the Poor and Distressed, but are now as really the High and Mighty States of *Holland*, they are without all doubt incomparably Stronger and Richer than at that time; and which is still an unspeakable Advantage that was wanting then, we are both under the Conduct of one Prince fam'd for his Valour and Wisdom. To this we must add, which is also highly Considerable, that the House of *Austria* and most of the Empire is certainly on our side. This is a Thing of mighty Consequence, not only because of their own Hereditary Dominions and Interest in the Princes of the Empire, but likewise because of their Interest in *Italy* and in the *Spanish* Dominions, where many of the Grandees and others want only an Opportunity to shake off the *French* Yoke.

We are also to consider, for our Encouragement, that the Enemy we have to deal with, hath by an Infatuation from above, exceedingly weakned his Kingdom, by an ungrateful as well as impolitick Persecution of his Protestant Subjects, and by a long and unjust War. The Effects of this are visible in the Decay of his Trade, and the Consumption of his Money, which puts him upon those inglorious and oppressive Methods to raise more, that we have daily Account of in his Edicts and Declarations. Besides, his Ambition to grasp at the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, puts him to a vast Additional Expence of Men and Money, and obliges him to send great Summs as well as great Armies out of his Country to defend his new Usurpations by Bribery and Force. This is just as if the Spirits should retire from the Heart to the Extremities of the Body, the Consequences of which must needs be fatal. He is under a Necessity to act thus, for he himself hath done so much towards the Ruin and Impoverishment of *Spain*, ever since his Accession to the Throne that the *Spaniards* are in no Condition to support his Granson's Pretensions, admitting they were realy zealous to do so. 'Tis this alone, that will hasten his Ruine and make him fall a Sacrifice to his own Ambition, if We and the *Dutch* take but any tolerable Care to prevent his being supported by the *American* Plate Fleets: Which if we don't, it will be impossible for us to escape the Imputation of Folly and Treachery.

We

We have ſtill this Great and Capital Encouragement to go heartily into a War; That by the League with the Emperor we are impowered to keep what we conquer in the *Weſt-Indies*. The laſt War was wholly carried on at our own Charge, without any hopes of being repayed; but we have now a Proſpect, nay, a Certainty of carrying it on at the Charge of our Enemies: if we fail in this, we cannot fix it upon the want of a due Care in the King our Sovereign, or upon the want of a generous Gratitude in the Emperor our Allie; ſo that the blame will unavoidably fall upon our own Miſmanagement; but it's hoped the approaching Parliament will readily aſſiſt his Majeſty to prevent that. We are the more obliged to take a particular Care in this, becauſe if we don't improve it, there's nothing can be more fatal to us, for if we neglect or happen to miſcarry in the Attempt, there's nothing in the Earth that could ſo much rivet the generality of the *Spaniards* in the Intereſt of *France*, and by Conſequence that can enable *Louis* XIV. and his Succeſſors to go on with the deſign of the Univerſal Monarchy; for that bountiful Conceſſion from the Emperor, will certainly have much greater influence to make the *Spaniards* live quietly under the *French* King's Yoke, than the Treaty of Partition could poſſibly have to make them accept his Grandſon: and therefore it's hoped this Nation will take care that what was intended as our great Benefit, may not become an irreparable Loſs.

To draw towards a Concluſion. If we may judge of the Temper of the Kingdom, by the Addreſſes of the People, we have reaſon to conclude, that tho' there were no ſuch proſpect of Advantage by a War upon the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, they are willing to bear their proportion of the Charge to bring down the exorbitant Power of *France*, and to have Satisfaction for the Affront He hath put upon the Nation, by offering to entail an Impoſtor on our Throne. 'Tis hoped theſe Addreſſes will ſtop the Mouths of ſuch as formerly oppos'd a War, on the Account of the People's unwillingneſs to engage in a new one. For now we have Aſſurance of the contrary from themſelves. And as this muſt needs be a great Encouragement to our Allies, who are thereby convinced of the Truth of what his Majeſty told them, that they may rely upon us; it likewiſe keeps up the Character of the People of *England*, as a Wiſe and Magnanimous Nation, who know when a War is neceſſary, and have Courage to declare their Willingneſs to go into it, when they know it to be ſo.

May Heaven ſucceed our Efforts till *France* be broght as low as to be no more a Terror to *Europe*, and till ſhe be obliged to abandon the Pretender. Since *Oliver* forced the *French* King to baniſh our Princes, whoſe Legitimacy was never controverted; 'twill be truly unaccountable if we ſhould not have the like Succeſs againſt the Impoſtor. We have all imaginable Reaſon to expect it, if Heaven preſerve us from Treachery and ill Conduct; for the Prince whoſe Title he has uſurp'd is the known Hero of his Age, has a commanding Intereſt in *Holland*, has the Emperor and the greateſt Princes of the Empire for his Allies, has all the reaſon of the World to expect the Aſſiſtance of the Northern Crowns, is univerſally beloved by his own Subjects in all the three Kingdoms, and has Juſtice on his ſide.

FINIS.